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THE REAL PRISONER OF CHILLON.

A CURIOUS EPISODE IN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

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"A CHARACTER more celebrated than known" is Francis Bonivard, prior of St. Victor and Prisoner of Chillon. It is not by any intentional imposture on his part that he goes stalking through modern literature disguised in the character of hero, saint and martyr, and shouting in a hoarse chest-voice his "appeal from tyranny to God." In fact, if he could be permitted to revisit his cherished little shelf of books about which has grown the ample library of the University of Geneva, and view the various delineations of himself by artist, poet, and even serious historian, it would be delightful to witness his comical astonishment. Perhaps it is not to be laid to the fault of Lord Byron, who after visiting the old castle and its dungeon beguiled the hours of a rainy day at the inn at Ouchy with writing a poem concerning which he frankly confesses that he had not the slightest knowledge of its hero. Hobhouse, his companion, ought to have been better informed, but was not. If anybody is to blame, it is the recent writers, who do know the facts, but are unwilling to hurt so fine an heroic figure or to dethrone "one of the demigods of the liberal mythology." Enough to say that the Muse of History has been guilty of one of those practical jokes to which she is too much addicted, in dressing with tragic buskins and muffling in the cloak of a hero of melodrama, and so palming off for earnest on two generations of mankind, the drollest wag of the sixteenth century.

A wild young fellow like Bonivard, with a lively appreciation of the ridiculous, could not fail to see the comic aspect of the fate which invested him with the spiritual and temporal authority and emoluments of the priory of St. Victor. This was a rich little Benedictine monastery just outside the eastern gate of Geneva, on the little knoll now crowned by the observatory,

surrounded with walls and moat of its own, independent of the Bishop of Geneva in spiritual matters, and in temporal affairs equally independent of the city: in fact, it was a petty sovereignty by itself, and its dozen of hearty, well-provided monks, though nominally under the rule of Cluny, were a law to themselves, and not a very rigid one either. The office of prior, by virtue of a little arrangement at Rome, descended to Bonivard from his uncle, immediately upon whose demise the young potentate of twenty-one took upon him the state and functions of his office in a way to show the monks of St. Victor that they had no King Log to deal with. The document is still extant in the Latin of the period, in which Prior Bonivard ordains that every new brother at his initiation shall not only stand treat all round, but shall, at his own cost and charges, furnish every one of his brethren with a new cap. Another document of equal gravity makes new ordinances concerning the convent-kitchen, which seems to have been one of the good prior's most religious cares.* Not only his own subjects, but those of other jurisdictions, were made to feel the majesty of his sovereign authority. He would let them know that he had "just as much jurisdiction at St. Victor as the Duke of Savoy had at Chambéry." He heard causes, sentenced to prison, even received ambassadors from his brother the duke, but not without looking sharply at their credentials. If these were wanting, the unfortunate wretches were threatened with the gallows as spies, and when they had been thoroughly frightened the monarch would indulge himself in the exercise of the sweetest prerogative of royalty, the pardoning power, and, when it was considered that the maj-

* The documents are given in full in the appendix of Dr. J. J. Chapponière's memoir in vol. iv. of the *Mém. de la Soc. Archéol. de Genève*. The former is signed by Bonivard, apostolic prothonotary and poet-laureate.

esty of the state had been sufficiently asserted, would wind up with asking the whole company to dinner.

It had been considered a clever stroke of policy, at a time when the dukes of Savoy and the bishops of Geneva, who agreed in nothing else, were plotting together or separately, to capture and extinguish the immemorial liberties of the brave little free city, to get this fortified outpost before its very gate officered by a brilliant and daring young Savoyard gentleman, who would be bound to the duke by his nativity and to the Church by his office, and to both by his interests. To the dismay of bishop and duke, it appeared that the young prior, who had led a gay life of it at the University of Turin, had nevertheless read his classics to some purpose, and had come back with his head full of Plato and Plutarch and Livy and of theories of republican liberty. So that by putting him into St. Victor they had turned that little stronghold from an outpost of attack upon Geneva liberties into the favorite resort and rendezvous of all the young liberal leaders of that gay but gallant little republic, who found themselves irresistibly drawn to young Bonivard, partly as a republican and still more as a jolly good fellow.

The first manifestation of his sympathies in that direction occurred soon after his installation as prior. His uncle on his deathbed had confessed to young Francis the burden on his conscience in that he had taken Church money and applied it to the making of a battery of culverins wherewith to levy war against one of his neighbors in the country; and bequeathed to his nephew the convent and the culverins, with the charge to melt down the latter into a chime of church-bells which should atone for his evil deeds. Not long after, Bonivard was telling the story to his friend, Berthelier, the daring and heroic leader of the "Sons of Geneva" in their perilous struggle against tyranny, when the latter exclaimed: "What! spoil good cannon to make bells? Never! Give us the guns, and you shall have old metal to make bells enough to split your ears. But let guns be guns. So the Church will be doubly served. There will be chimes at St. Victor and guns in Geneva, which is a Church city." The bargain was struck, as a vote in the records of the city council shows to this day. But it was the beginning of a quarrel with the Duke of Savoy which was to cost Bonivard more than he had counted on. There was reckless deviltry enough among all these

young liberals, but some of them—not Bonivard—were capable of seriously counting the cost of their game. On one occasion—it was at the christening of Berthelier's child, and Bonivard was godfather—Berthelier took his friend aside from the guests and said, "It is time we had done with dancing and junketing and organized for the defence of liberty."—"All right!" said the prior. "Come on, and may the Lord prosper our crazy schemes!" Berthelier took his hand, and with a serious look that sobered the rattle-headed ecclesiastic for a moment, replied, "But let me warn you that this is going to cost you your living and me my head."—"I have heard him say this a hundred times," says Bonivard in his *Chronicles*. The dungeon at Chillon and the mural tablet in the Tour de l'Isle at Geneva tell how truly the prophecy was fulfilled.

There was so little of the strut of the stage-hero about Bonivard that he could not be comfortable in doing a chivalrous thing without a joke to take off the gloss of it. Before the ducal party had quite given up hopes of him there was a serious affair on their hands—the need of putting out of the way by such means, treacherous and atrocious, as the Savoyards of that day loved to use, one of the noblest of the Geneva magistrates, Aimé Lévrier. An emissary of the duke, of high rank, kinsman to Bonivard, came to St. Victor and offered the prior magnificent inducements to aid in the plot. With a gravity that must have convulsed the spectators if there had been any, Bonivard pointed to his monastic gown, his prayer-book and his crucifix, and pleaded his deep sense of the sacredness of his office as a reason for having nothing to do with the affair. "Then," says his kinsman, rising in wrath, "I will do the business myself. I'll have Lévrier out of his bed and over in Savoy this very night."—"Do you really mean it, uncle? Give me your hand!"—"Then you consent, after all, to help me in the matter?"—"Oh no, uncle, that isn't it. But I know these Genevese are a hasty sort of folk, and I am just going to raise thirty florins to be spent in saying masses to-morrow for the repose of your soul." Before the evening was over, Bonivard found an opportunity of slipping in disguise over to the house of Lévrier and giving a hint of what was intended: the notes of preparation for resistance that Berthelier and his friends began at once to make wrought upon the excited nerves of the ambassador and his armed retinue to such a point that they

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were fain to escape from the town by a secret gate before daylight.

The affair of his rescue of Pecolat is another illustration of his character and of the strange, turbulent age in which he lived; and it went far to embitter the hatred of the duke and the bishop against him. This poor fellow was the jester, song-singer and epigrammatist of the mad-cap patriots who were associated under the title of "Sons of Geneva." Under a trumped-up charge of plotting the death of the bishop he was kidnapped and carried away to one of the castles in the neighborhood, and there tortured until a false confession was wrung from him implicating Berthelier and others. To secure his condemnation to death he was brought back into the city and presented before the court; but the sight of the poor cripple, racked and bruised with recent tortures, and his steadfastness in recanting his late confession, wrought more with the judges than the fear of the duke, and he was acquitted. But the feeble and ferocious bishop, moved partly by malignity, and partly, no doubt, by sincere and cowardly terror, was resolved to kill him; and by some fiction declaring him to have been in the minor orders, he clapped him into the bishop's prison, claiming to try him by ecclesiastical law. The story of renewed tortures inflicted on their helpless comrade, and their knowledge of the certain death that awaited him, stirred the blood of the patriots of Geneva. It was just the moment for the prior of St. Victor to show that the studies at Freiburg and Turin that had made him *doctor utriusque juris* had not been in vain. He would fight the bishop with his own weapon of Church law. He despatched Pecolat's own brother with letters to the Archbishop of Vienne, metropolitan to the Bishop of Geneva, and, using his family influence, which was not small, he secured a summons to the bishop and chapter of Geneva to appear before the archiepiscopal court and give account of the affair, and meanwhile to cease all proceedings against the prisoner.

It was comparatively easy to procure the summons. The difficulty was to find some one competent to the functions of episcopal usher and bold enough to serve it. Bonivard bethought him of a "caitiff wretch"—an obscure priest—to whom he handed the document with two round dollars lying on it, and bade him hand the paper to the bishop at mass the next day in the cathedral. The starving clergyman hesitated long between his fears and his necessities, but finally

promised to do the work on condition that the prior should stand by him in person and see him through. The hour approached, and the commissioner's courage was oozing rapidly away. His knees knocked together, and he slipped back in the crowd, hoping to escape. The vigilant prior darted after him, seized him, and laying his hand on the dagger that he wore under his robe, whispered in his ear, "Do it or I'll stab you!" He adds, in his *Chronicles*, "I should have been as good as my word: I do not say it by way of boasting. I know I was acting like a fool, but I was quite beside myself with anxiety for my friend." Happily, there was no need of extreme measures. He gripped his terrified victim by the thumb, and as the procession moved towards the church-door he thrust the paper into his hand, saying, "Now's the time! You've got to do it." And all the time he held him fast by the thumb. The bishop came near, and Bonivard let go the wretch's thumb and pushed him to the front, pointing to the prelate and saying, "Do your work!" The bishop turned pale with terror of assassination as he heard the words. But the trembling clerk, not less terrified than the bishop, dropped on his knees and presented the archiepiscopal mandate, gasping out, "My lord, *inhibetur vobis, prout in copia*." Bonivard retreated into his inviolable sanctuary of St. Victor. "I was young enough and crazy enough," he says, "to fear neither bishop nor duke." He had saved poor Pecolat's life, although the work was not finished until the publication of an interdict from the metropolitan silencing every church-bell and extinguishing every altar-candle in the city had brought the bishop to terms.*

It is a hardship to the writer to be compelled to retrench the story of the early deeds for liberty of Bonivard and his boon companions. There is a rollicking swagger about them all, which by and by begins to be sobered when it is seen that "on the side of the oppressor there is power." By violence, by fraudulent promises, by foul treachery on the part of cowardly citizens, the Duke of Savoy gains admittance with his army within the walls of Geneva, and begins his delicious and bloody revenge for the indignities that have been put upon his pretensions and usurpations. Berthelier, a very

*The story is told by Bonivard himself in his *Chronicles*, and may be found in full detail in the Second Series of Dr. Merle d'Aubigné's volumes on the Reformation, vol. i. chaps. viii and x. The story that Pecolat, about to be submitted a second time to the torture, and fearing lest he might be again tempted to accuse his friends, attempted to cut off his own tongue with a razor, seems to be authenticated. The whole story is worthy of being told at full length in English, it is so full of generous heroism.

copy from the antique—a hero that might have stepped forth into the sixteenth century from the page of Plutarch*—remained in the town serenely to await the death which he foreknew. On the day of the duke's entrance Bonivard, who had no such relish for martyrdom for its own sake, put himself between two of his most trusted friends, the Lord of Voruz and the Abbot of Montheron of the Pays de Vaud, and galloped away disguised as a monk. "Come first to my convent," said the abbot, "and thence we will take you to a place of safety." The convent was reached, and in the morning Bonivard was greeted by his comrade Voruz, who came into his room, and, laying paper and pen before him, required him to write a renunciation of his priory in favor of the Abbot of Montheron. Resistance was vain. He was a prisoner in the hands of traitors. The alternative being "Your priory or your life!" he frankly owns that he required no time at all to make up his choice. Voruz took the precious document, with the signature still wet, and went out, double locking the door behind him. His two friends turned him over to the custody of the duke, who locked him up for two years at Grolée, one of his castles down the Rhone, and put the honest Abbot of Montheron in possession of the rich living of St. Victor.

But Bonivard in his prison was less to be pitied than the citizens of Geneva who remained in their subjugated city. The two despots, the bishop and the duke, who had seized the unhappy town, combined to crush the gay and insubordinate spirit out of it. All this time, says Bonivard, "they imprisoned, they scourged, they tortured, they beheaded, they hung, so as it is pitiful to tell."

Meanwhile, the influential family friends of Bonivard, some of them high in court favor, discovering that he was yet alive and in prison, bestirred themselves to procure his liberation; and not in vain, for the possession that had made him dangerous, the priory of St. Victor, having been wrested from him, there was little harm that he could do. His immediate successor in the priory, good Abbot de Montheron, had not indeed long enjoyed the benefice. He had gone on business to Rome, where certain Churchmen who admired his new benefice invited him (so Bonivard tells the story) to a banquet *more Romano*, and gave him a dose of the "cardinal powder," which operated so powerfully that it purged the

soul right out of the body. He left a paper behind him in which, as a sign of remorse for his crime, he resigned all his rights in the priory back to Bonivard.* But the pope, whose natural affection towards his cousins and nephews overflowed freely in the form of gifts of what did not belong to him, bestowed the living on a cousin, who commuted it for an annual revenue of six hundred and forty gold crowns—a splendid revenue for those days—and poor Bonivard, whose sole avocation was that of gentleman, found it difficult to carry on that line of business with neither capital nor income. He came back, some five years later, into possession of the priory. They were five years of exciting changes, of fierce terrorism and oppression at Geneva, followed by a respite, a rallying of the spirit of the people, an actual recovery of some of the old rights of the city, and, presently, by the beginning of some signs of religious light coming from the direction of Germany. And the way in which Bonivard at last got reinstalled into his convent is curiously illustrative of the strange condition of society in those times. One May morning in 1527 the little town was all agog with strange news from Rome. The Eternal City had been taken by storm, sacked, pillaged, burned! The Roman bishop was prisoner to the Roman emperor, if indeed he was alive at all. In fact, there was a rumor—dreadful, no doubt, but attended by vast consolations—that the whole court of Rome had perished. Immediately there was a rush to the bishop's palace, and a scramble for the vacant livings in the diocese that had been held by absentees at Rome. The bishop, delighted at such a windfall of patronage, dispensed his favors right and left, not forgetting, says Bonivard, to reserve something comfortable for himself in the shape of a fat convent that had been held by a cardinal. This was Bonivard's opportunity, and, times and the bishop having changed, he got back once more into his cherished quarters as prior of St. Victor. The convent was there, and the friars, but the estates that had been wont to keep them all right royally were mostly in the hands of the duke and his minions. It is in the effort to recover these that Bonivard shines out in his most magnificent character, that of military hero. The campaign of Cartigny includes the most memorable of his feats of arms.

Cartigny was an estate about six miles down the left bank of the Rhone from

* "Je n'ai vu ni lu oncques un si grand mépriseur de mort," says Bonivard in his *Chronicles*.

* The text of this act is given by Chaponnière, p. 156.

Geneva appertaining to St. Victor. "It was a chaste of pleasaunce, not a fortresse," says our hero, who is the Homer of his own brave deeds. But the duke kept a garrison there, and to every demand the prior made for his place he replied that he did not dare give it up for fear of being excommunicated by the pope. Rent-time came, and the Savoyard Government enjoined the tenants not to pay to the prior. Whereupon that potentate declared that, being refused civil justice, he "fell back on the law of nations."

The military resources of his realm were limited. He counted ten able-bodied subjects, but they were monks and not liable to service. The culverins of his uncle were gone, but he had six muskets—a loan from the city—and there were four pounds of powder in the magazine. But this was not of itself sufficient for a war against the Duke of Savoy. He must subsidize mercenaries.

About this time there chanced to be at Geneva a swashbuckler from Berne, Bischelbach by name, by trade a butcher, who had found the new régime of the Reformers at that city too straitlaced for his tastes and habits, and had come to Geneva, with some vagabonds at his heels, in search of adventures and a livelihood. Him did the prior of St. Victor, greatly impressed with his own accounts of his powers, commission as generalissimo of the forces. Second in command he set a priest, likewise just thrown out of business by the Reformation in the North; and in a council of war the plan of campaign was determined. But before the actual clash of arms began, the solemn preliminaries usual between hostile powers must be scrupulously fulfilled. A herald was commissioned to make proclamation in the name of the lord of St. Victor, through all the lands of Cartigny, that no man should venture to execute there any orders, whether of pope or duke, under penalty of being hung. This energetic procedure struck due terror, for when Bonivard's captain with several soldiers appeared before the castle it capitulated without a blow.

It was a brief though splendid victory. The very first raid in which the "Knights of the Spoon"—an association of neighboring country gentlemen—harried that region they found that the captain and entire garrison of the castle had gone to market (not without imputations of treason), leaving the post in charge of one woman, who promptly surrendered.

The sovereign of St. Victor's blood was

up. He resolved to draw, if need were, on the entire resources of his realm. The army was promptly reinforced to twenty men, and Bonivard took the field in person at the head of his forces. On what wise this array debouched in two corps d'armée one Sunday morning from two of the gates of Geneva; how the junction of the forces was effected; the military history of the march; how they appeared, at last, before the castle of Cartigny—are these not written by the pen of the hero himself in his *Chronicles of Geneva*? But Bonivard, though brave, was merciful. Willing to spare the effusion of blood, he sent the general-in-chief, Bischelbach, with his servant Diebolt, as an interpreter, to summon the castle. The answer was a shot that knocked poor Diebolt over with a mortal wound; whereupon the attacking army fell back in a masterly manner into the woods and made good their way into Geneva, bringing one prisoner, whom they had caught unarmed near the castle, and leaving Diebolt to die at a roadside inn.

We may not further narrate the deeds of Bonivard as a martial hero, though they are neither few nor uninteresting.* But he is equally worthy of himself as a religious reformer. It was about this time that the stirrings of religious reformation at Berne and elsewhere began to be heard at Geneva, and the thought began to be seriously entertained by some of the patriotic "Sons of Geneva" that perhaps that liberty for which they had dared and suffered so much in vain might best come with that gospel which had wrought such wonders in other communities. There was one man who could advise them what to do; and they went together over to the convent and sought audience and ghostly counsel of the prior. "We are going to have done with all popish ceremonies," said they, "and drive out the whole rabble-rout of papistry, monks, priests, and all: then we mean to send for gospel ministers to introduce the true Christian Reformation." It is pleasant to imagine the expression of Bonivard's countenance as he replied to his ardent friends: "It is a very praiseworthy idea.

* We have the history of one of them in a brief of Pope Clement VII. addressed to the chapter and senate of Geneva, in which he expresses his sorrow that in a city which he has carried in his bowels so long such high-handed doings should be allowed. One Francis Bonivard has not only despoiled the rightful prior of his living, but—what is worse—has chased his attorney with a gun and shot the horse that he was running away upon: "*quodque pejus est, Franciscum Tinguum ejusdem electi procuratorem, negotium restitutionis dicte possessionis prosequentem, scloppetis invasisse, et equum super quo fugiebat vulnerasse.*" His Holiness threatens spiritual vengeance, and explains his zeal in the case by the fact that the excluded prior is his cousin.

There is no doubt that all these ecclesiastics sadly need reformation. I am one of them myself. But who is to do the reforming? Whoever it is, they had better begin operations on themselves. If you are so fond of the gospel, why don't you practise it? It looks as if you did not so much love the gospel as you hate us. And what do you hate us for? It is not because we are so different from you, but because we are so like. You say we are a licentious lot; well, so are you. We drink hard; so do you. We gamble and we swear; but what do you do, I should like to know? Why should you be so hard on us? We don't interfere with your little enjoyments: for pity's sake, don't meddle with ours. You talk about driving us out and sending for the Lutheran ministers. Gentlemen, think twice before you do it. They will not have been here two years before you will wish they were gone. If you dislike us because we are too much like you, you will detest them because they are so different from you. My friends, do one thing or the other. Either let us alone, or, if you must do some reforming, try it on yourselves."

Thus did this excellent pastor, in the spirit of the gospel injunction to count the cost, give spiritual counsel to those who sought reformation of the Church. "I warrant you," he wrote concerning them, "they went off with their tails between their legs. I am as fond of reformation as anybody, but I am a little scrupulous as to who shall take it in hand." *

Bonivard's harum-scarum raids into the Duke of Savoy's dominions after rents or reprisals at last became so embarrassing to his Geneva friends that, much as they enjoyed the fun of them, it became necessary to say to the good monk that this sort of thing really must stop; and feeling the force of his argument, that he must have *something* to live on, the city council allowed its neighboring potentate a subvention of four crowns and a half monthly to enable him to keep up a state worthy of the dignity of a sovereign. He grumbled at the amount, but took it; and thereafter the peace of Europe was less disturbed on his part.

But bad news came to the gay prior in his impoverished monastery. His mother was ill at his old home at Seyssel in Savoy, and he must see her before she died. It was venturing into the tiger's den, as all his friends told him, and as he did not need to be told. But he thought he would adventure it if he could get a safe-conduct

from the tiger. The matter was arranged: the duke sent Bonivard his passport, limited to a single month; and the prior arrived at Seyssel, and nearly frightened the poor old lady out of her last breath with her sense of the peril to which he had exposed himself.

Our hero's incomparable genius for getting himself into difficulties never shone more brightly than at this hour. While here in the country of his mortal enemy, on the last days of his expiring safe-conduct, he got news of accusations gravely sustained at Geneva that he had gone over into Savoy to treat with the enemy. He did not dare to stay: he did not dare to go back. If he could get his safe-conduct extended for one month, to the end of May, he would try to make his way through the Pays de Vaud (then belonging to Savoy) to Fribourg in the Swiss Confederation. The extension was granted, and with many assurances of good-will from friends of the duke he pushed on. It was a fine May morning, the 26th, that he was on his last day's journey to Lausanne, and passing through a pine wood. Suddenly men sprang from ambush upon Bonivard, who grasped his sword and spurred, calling to his guide, "Put spurs!" But instead of so doing the guide turned and whipped out his knife and cut Bonivard's sword-belt; "Whereupon these worthy gentlemen," says Bonivard's *Chronicle*, "jumped on me and took me prisoner in the name of my lord duke." Safe-conducts were in vain. A bagful of ropes was produced, and he was carried on a mule, bound hand and foot, in secrecy, to the duke's castle of Chillon, the captain of which was one of the ambuscading party. For six years he was hidden from the world, and at first men knew not whether he was alive or dead. But his sufferings at the hand of the common foe put to shame the suspicions that had been engendered at Geneva, and it is recorded, to the honor of the Genevese, that during all that period, whenever negotiations were opened between them and the Duke of Savoy, the liberation of Bonivard was always insisted on as one of the conditions.

The story of the imprisonment is soon told; for, strangely enough, this most garrulously egotistical of writers never alludes to it but twice, and then briefly. The first two years he was kept in the upper chambers of the castle and treated kindly, but at the end of this time the castle received a visit from the duke, and from that time forth the Prisoner of Chillon was remanded

* *Advis et Devis des difformes Reformateurs*, pp. 149-151.

to the awful and sombre crypt. A single sentence in his handwriting is all that he tells us of this period, of which he might have told so much, and in this he shows a disposition to look at the affair rather in its humorous than its Byronesque aspect. For his one recorded reminiscence of his four years of dungeon-life is, that "he had such abundant leisure for promenading that he wore in the rock pavement a little path as neatly as if it had been done with a stone-hammer."*

One March morning in 1536 the Prisoner of Chillon heard through the windows of his dungeon the sound of a cannonade by land and lake. It was the army of Berne, which was finishing its victorious campaign through the Pays de Vaud by the siege of the duke's last remaining stronghold, the castle of Chillon. They were joyfully aided by a flotilla fitted out by Geneva, which had never forgotten its old friend. That night the dungeon-door was burst open, and Bonivard and three fellow-prisoners were carried off in triumph to Geneva.

Not Rip Van Winkle when he awoke from his long slumber in the Catskills, not the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus when they came back from their sepulchre and found their city Christian, had a better right to be surprised than the prior of St. Victor when he got back to Geneva. Duke and bishop and all their functionaries were expelled; priests and preaching-friars were gone; the mass was abolished; in the cathedral of St. Peter's and all the lesser churches, which had been cleared of their images, there were singing of psalms and preaching of fiery sermons by Reformers from France; and the streets through which he had sometimes had to move by stealth were filled with joyous crowds to hail him as a martyr. St. Victor was no more. If he went to look for his old home, he found a heap of rubbish, for all the suburbs of the city that might give shelter to an enemy had been torn down by the unsparing patriots of Geneva, and the trees had been felled. The joyous city had ceased, and Bonivard's prophecy to his roystering companions was not long in being fulfilled for himself as well as for them: they soon

found Calvin's little finger to be heavier than the bishop's loins.

And yet the heroic little town showed a noble gratitude towards the old friend of its liberties. The house which he chose out of all the city was given him for his own and furnished at the public expense. A pension of two hundred crowns a year in gold was settled on him, and he was made a senator of the republic. To all which was added a condition that he should lead a respectable life—a proviso which is practically explained in the very next appearance of his name in the records on account of a misdemeanor for which his accomplice was ordered to quit the town within three days.

The more generous was the town the more exacting became the Martyr. He could not get over his free-and-easy way of living in the gay old days when the tithes of his benefice yielded him nigh a thousand yellow crowns a year. He could not see why he was not entitled to have his rents back again; and after a vain effort on the part of the council to make him see it, he went off to Berne, where he had been admitted a citizen, to ask it to interfere for him, sending back an impudent letter renouncing his Geneva citizenship, on the ground that in his reduced circumstances he could not afford to be a citizen in two places at once. For a while the patient city lost its patience with its unruly beneficiary, but the genuine grateful and kindly feeling that every one felt for the poor fellow, and the general admiration for his learning and wit, conspired with his growing embarrassments to bring about a settlement of the affair on the basis of a reduced pension with a round lump sum to pay his debts.

They sent for him two or three years later to come to Geneva as historiographer, and he came, bringing with him a wife from Berne, who died soon after his arrival. For a man of his years, he had a remarkable alacrity at getting married, and his second venture was an unlucky one. For from the wedding-day onward, when he was not before the council with some quarrel or some affair of debt, he was apt to come before it to get them to compel his wife to live with him, or, failing that, to get her money to live on himself. What time could be saved from these wranglings, which lasted almost till the poor woman's death, was devoted ardently to his literary work. The history grew apace, and other books besides. In the seditions of

*It is needful to caution enthusiastic tourists that nearly all the details of Byron's poem are fabulous. The two brothers, the martyred father, the anguish of the prisoner, were all invented by the poet on that rainy day in the tavern at Ouchy. Even the level of the dungeon, below the water of the lake, turns out to be a mistake, although Bonivard believed it: the floor of the crypt is eight feet above high-water mark. As for the thoughts of the prisoner, they seem to have been mainly occupied with making Latin and French verses of an objectionable sort not adapted for general publication. (See Ls. Vullemain: *Chillon, Étude historique*, Lausanne, 1851.)

the Libertine party against the austerities of the new régime the old man took the side of law and order and good morals in his book on *L'ancienne et nouvelle Police de Genève* with an ardor that was the more surprising as one remembered his antecedents. In the midst of his toils he found time to get married to a third wife and to go to law with his neighbors. He is continually coming to the council, sometimes for a little loan to help him with his lawsuits, sometimes for relief in his embarrassments. It is touching to see how tender they are towards the poor foolish old man. They make him little grants from time to time, always looking to it that their money shall be applied to the object designated, and not "on his fantasies." They take up one of his notes for him, looking to see that it has not been tampered with because "he is easily circumvented and not adroit in his business." He complains of the heat during an illness one summer, and the seigneurie give him the White Chamber in the town-hall, and when winter comes on and he is old, and infirm, they assign him the lodging lately occupied by Maturin Cordier (famous schoolmaster Corderius, whose *Dialogues* were the first book in Latin of our grandfathers), because it contained a stove—a rare luxury. He thanks them for their kindness as his fathers, and makes them heirs of his library and manuscripts.

There was another and more solemn assemblage, his relations with which were less tender. This was the consistory of the Church, which found it less easy to allow for the old man's infirmities. His first appearance before this body was under accusation of playing at dice with Clement Marot, another famous character and the sweet singer of the French Reformation. He comes next time of his own accord, asking the venerable brethren to interfere because his second wife ran away from him on their wedding-day, she defending herself on the ground of a bad cold. His domestic troubles bring him hither so often as to put the clergy out of patience. He is called up for beating his wife, but shows that the discipline was needed, and she is admonished to be more obedient in future. Later on he is questioned why he does not come to church. He can't walk, is the answer. But he is told that if he can get himself carried to the hôtel de ville to see the new carvings, he could get carried to church. And why does he neglect the communion? *Answer*: He has been debarred from it. "Then present your request to be restored." So the poor old

gentleman presents himself six weeks later, asking to be readmitted to the Church; which is granted, but with the remark, entered on the record, that he "does not show much contrition in coming with a bunch of flowers over his ear—a thing very unbecoming in a man of his years."

The dreadful consistory had a principal concern in the affair that darkened the declining days of Bonivard with the shadow of a tragedy. An escaped nun had found refuge in his lodgings after his third wife's death; and after some love-making—on which side was disputed—there was a promise of marriage given by him, which, however, he was in no hurry to fulfil. The consistory deemed it best to interfere, in the interests of propriety, and insist on the marriage; and the decrepit old invalid in vain pleaded his age and bodily infirmities. So he was married in spite of himself to his nun, and showed his disposition to make the best of it by making her a wedding-present of his new Latin treatise, just finished, on *The Origin of Evil*, and receiving in tender return a Greek copy of the *Philippics* of Demosthenes. Three years later the wretched woman was accused of adultery, and being put to the torture confessed her crime and was drowned in a sack, while her paramour was beheaded. Bonivard, being questioned, declared his belief of her innocence, and that her worst faults were that she wanted to make him too pious, and tormented him to begin preaching, and sometimes beat him when he had a few friends in to drink.*

For five years after this catastrophe the old man lingered, tended by hirelings, but watched with filial gratitude by the little state whose liberties he had helped to save, and whose heroic history he has recorded. He had at least the comfort of having finished that great work; and when he brought the manuscript of it to the council, they referred it to a committee with Master Calvin at the head; who reported that it was written in a rude and familiar style, quite beneath the dignity of history, and that for this and other reasons it had better not be printed. The precious manuscript was laid on the shelf until in the lapse of years it was found that the very reasons why those solemn critics rejected it were the things that gave it

* This touching tribute of conjugal affection is all the more honorable to Bonivard from the fact that this wife, like the others, had provoked him. Only a few months before he had been compelled to appear before the consistory to answer for treating her in a public place with profane and abusive language, applying to her some French term which is expressed in the record only by abbreviations.

supreme value to a later age. It has been the pride of Geneva scholars to print in elegant archaic style every page written by the Prisoner of Chillon in prose or verse, on history, polity, philology and theology.*

Somewhere about September, 1570, Francis Bonivard died, aged seventy-seven, lonely and childless, leaving the city his heir. The cherished collection of books that was the comfort of his harassed life has grown into the library of a university, and the little walled town for whose ancient liberties he ventured such perils and suffered such imprisonment is, and for the three hundred years since has been, one of the chief radiant centres of light and liberty for all the world.

MR. BALFOUR AS A THEOLOGIAN AND AS A CHRISTIAN.

BY JAMES DENNEY.

From *The British Weekly* (London), February 14 & 21, 1895.

THE ideal commonwealth, in which either kings are philosophers or philosophers kings, may seem to be at hand, when a statesman of the foremost rank addresses his countrymen on the Foundations of Belief. Probably none of our politicians but Mr. Balfour could have written such a book, but that does not lessen its significance as a sign of the times. Thousands have been waiting for an utterance of this kind, and will gratefully recognize in it the expression of instincts and convictions of their own. Not that the book is one of that supremely good sort which, as Pascal says, every one thinks he could have written himself. On the contrary, there is a fascinating individuality about it which cannot be mistaken. It is lucid even in its most dubious arguments. It is full of humor, of happy irony, of vivid illustration, of moral earnestness, as well as of critical power. It re-

sembles a Platonic dialogue in one respect—that the most brilliant and charming things are often of the nature of asides, which cannot be introduced in giving an account of the argument.

Mr. Balfour describes his book, in a subtitle, as Notes introductory to the Study of Theology. It is an attempt to legitimate that study by refuting the claims of those who on whatever pretext have sought to interdict it. Long ago Mr. Spurgeon preached a characteristically vigorous sermon on the text, There is much rubbish, so that we are not able to build the wall. This might be the text of many apologetic treatises (though they sometimes add to the obstructive heaps), and it might be the text of Mr. Balfour's book. It is in the strictest sense introductory. It clears the ground of encumbrances and of adversaries that the theologian may have room to go to work.

The great enemy, according to Mr. Balfour, is that which he describes as Naturalism. It is known indeed by various *aliases*, as Agnosticism, Positivism, Phenomenalism, but he prefers to describe it by a name which suggests its actual connection—a connection from which it derives an illegitimate strength—with the physical sciences. The common man, as Mr. Balfour is well aware, needs to be bribed into any kind of interest in philosophical questions; and accordingly, instead of proceeding at once to examine the claims of naturalism as a philosophy of science—a reasoned justification of our belief in the knowledge which comes through sense perception—he prefers to dwell upon the consequences of naturalism to beliefs other than scientific.

The first part of his book discusses naturalism in its relations to Ethics, Aesthetics, and Reason respectively. Mr. Balfour has no difficulty in showing that under the reign of naturalism the beliefs and emotions associated with these names enjoy only a precarious and illegitimate existence. They are proscribed just as effectually as if they were departments of theology. "If naturalism be true, or rather if it be the whole truth, then is morality but a bare catalogue of utilitarian precepts; beauty but the chance occasion of a passing pleasure; reason but the dim passage from one set of unthinking habits to another." The sentiments associated with beauty are a poor jest played on us by Nature for no apparent purpose; those that gather round morality are, so to speak, a deliberate fraud perpetrated for a well-defined end. Mr. Balfour refuses to accept an experimental refutation of this conclusion. He admits that there are shining ex-

* Like every subject relating to the history of Geneva, the life of Bonivard has been thoroughly studied by local antiquarians and historians. The most important work on the subject is that of Dr. Chaponnière, before cited; this is reprinted (but without the documents attached) as a preface to the new edition of the *Chronicles*. M. Edmond-Chevrier, in a slight pamphlet (Macon, 1868), gives a critical account both of the man and of his writings. Besides these may be named Vulliemin: *Chillon Étude historique*, Lausanne, 1851; J. Gaberel: *Le Château de Chillon et Bonivard*, Geneva, Marc Monnier, *Genève et ses Poètes* (Geneva, 1847), gives an excellent criticism on Bonivard as author. For original materials consult besides the work of Chaponnière Galliffe: *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de Genève*, and Cramer: *Notes extraites des Registres du Consistoire*, a rare book in lithography (Geneva, 1833). A weak little article in the *Catholic World* for September, 1876, bravely attacks Bonivard as "one of the Protestant models of virtue," and triumphantly proves him to have been far from perfect. The charge, however, that he was "a traitor to his ecclesiastical character," and "quitted his convent and broke his vows," is founded on a blunder. Bonivard never took monastic vows or holy orders, but held his living in commendam, as a layman. The main resource, however, for Bonivard's life up to his liberation from Chillon is in his own works, especially the *Chronicles* (Geneva, edition Fick, 1867).

amples of virtue to be found among men holding the principles of naturalism, but there is an explanation of that. "Their spiritual life is parasitic; it is sheltered by convictions which belong, not to them, but to the society of which they form a part; it is nourished by processes in which they take no share. And when those convictions decay, and those processes come to an end, the alien life which they have maintained can scarce be expected to outlast them." The assumption here is that a philosophy which is inconsistent with those elements of experience which give life its worth and greatness has a presumption, at least, against it, and this will be questioned by few. Of course there is nothing original in this way of dealing with naturalism, but the criticism in Mr. Balfour's hands is peculiarly vivid and effective.

It is when we pass to the second part, in which we find, not this indirect assault on naturalism, but a direct criticism of it as a philosophy of science—an empirical justification of the knowledge based on sense perception—that we are in contact with the central, independent, and important part of the book. The same kind of thing has been done before, but by philosophers rather than theologians, and though it is immensely difficult to do it in a popularly effective way, Mr. Balfour has opened a line of apologetics that competent heads ought to work, until the results can be made intelligible to any one. The scope of his argument is that science has no reasoned justification of itself to offer (and simply as science, of course, it need not have any) and that naturalism, in particular, is unable to do it this service. "Ultimate scientific ideas," to use Mr. Spencer's expression, are "unthinkable," not more so, but not less so, than the ideas of the theologian. By what right, then, does the naturalistic philosopher proscribe the theologian for doing precisely what he does himself, using ideas which science cannot justify for the simple reason that without them science could not exist? In the high spirits with which Mr. Balfour shows up Mr. Spencer one seems to discover the parliamentary debater as well as the philosophical dialectician; the proper conclusion to the paragraph would be "laughter and cheers," but it is admirably well reasoned nevertheless. The theme of the book comes out in it—that the difficulties which have been believed to make theology impossible are in truth not difficulties peculiar to it, but difficulties which, when philosophical criticism is applied all round, are seen to be shared by all the departments of knowl-

edge which have at different times tried to put theology under the ban.

Naturalism is the enemy of theology *par excellence*, and gets the largest part of Mr. Balfour's attention. But before passing from the reasons for belief which have commanded greater or less sympathy, he bestows two briefer chapters on Rationalism (as an undeveloped form of naturalism) and on Rationalist Orthodoxy (such theology, for instance, as Paley's, in which there is a sort of compromise made between the two really hostile powers, room being made for a certain, continually decreasing quantity of theology as a supplement to science). More important than this is his criticism of "Idealism, after some recent English writings." The great significance of the school represented by Green and Caird, and its extraordinary influence in theology, will be generally admitted. Mr. Balfour advises all but philosophical specialists to omit this chapter, but it is by no means unintelligible. He tests the transcendental idealism which seems so transparently true to those who accept it, and so palpably irrelevant to those who do not, by the same double series of tests applied to naturalism, and finds it equally unsatisfying, though far worthier in intention. It leaves all the difficulties of empiricism on our hands, all the old unsolved questions, "clothed," Mr. Balfour will not say "shrouded," in a new terminology, but that is all. And here, whatever one may think of his argument, one will join in his regret that English idealists have devoted themselves so much to commenting on others instead of rendering their own minds to their own kindred independently. There is a side in theology and philosophy which prevents them from ever becoming international in the sense of physical science; they cannot really be translated, and till we have them of our own we do not have them at all. Why cannot some of the young idealist professors—they are legion—launch out at his own adventure, and tell us how to think about the world? always remembering James Mozley's caution that if a man forgets his conscience there are no two easier things to talk about than God and the Universe.

At this point Mr. Balfour's reader may begin to be alarmed. It looks as if he were being led towards a universal scepticism, with a delusive assurance that faith can be firmly built up without any foundation—in fact, that it is not safe until reason has been reduced to impotence. But Mr. Balfour is a philosopher, and has no such malign intention. He recognizes without

reserve the ideal of reason—"the unification of all belief into an ordered whole, compacted into one coherent structure under the stress of reason"; but he believes it is one which in the present condition of our knowledge, perhaps even of our faculties, we seem incapable of attaining. Meantime we must be content with less; and as if to compose our minds and keep us from being too much alarmed, Mr. Balfour has written two extremely interesting chapters on the causes of belief. The gist of these is that the causes which produce belief, not only in theology, but in ethics, æsthetics, and science as well, are ultimately non-rational; and that, from this point of view, beliefs in all these departments stand on the same footing, and have precisely the same degree of validity and security. There is the same difficulty, the same partial and only partial success, in rationalizing them all. Hence theology must not ban the beliefs of science as heretical, nor science the beliefs of theology as superstitious. What then? Are we to have two, or ten, different kinds of truth inconsistent with each other? No, but we must recognize our limitations, our incapacity to understand the Whole as a Whole, the futility of making consistency with beliefs of one particular order the final test of truth. We must be content with something approaching a provisional basis for the unification of knowledge; and that something, Mr. Balfour holds, is best sought in Theism, and eventually in Theism as modified by Christianity.

Mr. Balfour introduces his theology with a certain abruptness. The critical part of his book—and it is mainly critical—is directed against the various types of philosophizing, empirical or ideal, which expressly or virtually interdict theology, and his purpose is to turn against them the very arguments with which they have assailed the Queen of the Sciences. The fundamental beliefs underlying physical science, ethics, æsthetics, and theology, have all precisely the same kind of authority, and none can arrogate the right to proscribe the rest. But Mr. Balfour goes further than this. "I do not believe," he writes, "that any escape from these perplexities (the perplexities connected with the non-rational causes of belief) is possible, unless we are prepared to bring to the study of the world the presupposition that it was the work of a rational being, who made it intelligible, and at the same time made us, in however feeble a fashion, able to understand it. This conception does not solve all difficulties; far from it. But, at

least, it is not on the face of it incoherent. It does not attempt the impossible task of extracting reason from unreason; nor does it require us to accept among scientific conclusions any which effectually shatter the credibility of scientific premises."

This is reassuring, to those who need to be reassured, although it only rests on Mr. Balfour's expression of personal conviction. He would not claim that such a belief in God could be completely vindicated to reason; the ideal of reason is never completely attained by such limited and imperfect creatures as we. He would not even say that such a belief in God could be derived from nature by one who approached nature without it; but he thinks that all our knowledge, and all our other beliefs, ethical and æsthetic, fall in and cohere with this fundamental one, so that in a manner they support it, although it in turn is essential to support them. It is a commonplace of philosophy which can be extracted in one form or another from every metaphysician from Plato to Hegel, that unless we believe in God we can believe in nothing. Mr. Balfour has taken the loan of it, with a proper sense of its value, and perhaps he can claim credit for presenting it in a light which will commend it to many of his contemporaries.

But belief in God, in this regulative, this almost tentative way, does not carry us very far. The actual belief of the mass of religious people is not theistic, but Christian. Mr. Balfour has the fine scorn of a statesman and a historian for the figment called Natural Religion. The only religion which he cares for is the real religion which, if one may borrow from Mr. Kidd in writing of Mr. Balfour, functions as a religion in the evolution of society, and in ministering to the ethical needs of man. What, then, is the difference between God as He is believed in by living religious men, and the God of theism whose *raison d'être* is (if truth be told) merely to rationalize science? Why is it that science and theology go to war, even when science is not atheistic?

Mr. Balfour writes the word Miracle with extreme unwillingness; "the very term," he says, "is more suggestive of controversy, wearisome, unprofitable, and unending, than any other in the language, Free Will alone being excepted." Yet he writes about the subject involved with amazing freshness and interest, and provides, so to speak, for the introduction into theology of the general idea through which miracle has to be vindicated to reason. The discussion, of course, suffers from its extreme abstractness, but it is well worth

following. Mr. Balfour is as impatient as any disciple of Ritschl of attempts to define miracle in relation to laws of nature. It was not through such definitions that the people who first accepted them knew them for what they were, and such definitions serve no purpose to us. But he points out that few systems of thought which have any religious flavor about them at all exclude the idea of what he ventures to call "the preferential exercise of divine power." Some who reject miracles admit, "at least in those fateful moments when they imaginatively realize their own helplessness," what is called in a certain literature "a special providence." Where even a special providence is rejected, men confess "a sort of Divine superintendence over the general course of history." And where even this seems too heavy a reproach to bear, they have been known to take refuge in "a Power which makes for righteousness." Mr. Balfour fairly argues that in all these expressions "a preferential exercise of divine power" is assumed; and as fairly that the same assumption is necessary if we are to retain a rational belief in ethical ends. He even finds in the scientific doctrine of evolution, with its elimination and selection of variations resulting in an intelligible and progressive life, an intimation that "the preferential exercise of divine power" is not limited to the ethical or the religious sphere. Now such an exercise of power, he would argue, is essentially of the kind meant by miracle; under the shelter of it the beliefs of this description which have had and have their place in every living religion can maintain themselves against the assaults or the contempt of naturalism. Plainly, everything depends on the application of this doctrine. A Christian is not concerned to vindicate the conception of miracle *in vacuo*: his only concern is with those miracles which directly or indirectly are inseparable from the person of Christ, and these it is impossible to consider except in their spiritual contents and their historical connection.

Mr. Balfour comes nearest to positive Christianity only when he makes use of certain of its doctrines, or beliefs, as he might prefer to say, for purposes of illustration. He aims at forming a "psychological climate" in which men shall come to the study of religion, and especially of Christianity, with a different bias from that given by philosophic naturalism. In many respects his book presents at this point a striking affinity to Mr. Illingworth's Bampton Lectures—in substance, of course,

not in the way in which they approach the question. Mr. Balfour, for instance, lays great stress in Ethics, not only on the "categorical imperative," the impotence of which was discovered by St. Paul long ago, but on the need of reconciliation, and of forces which will succor and inspire man, and satisfy his aspirations, if any ethical ideal is to be realized. It cannot be said directly that such needs prove the Incarnation, but an intense consciousness of such needs will completely change the preconceptions with which men approach what claims to be an Incarnation. The "preferential exercise of divine power" requires fair play, if it is to be discovered and appreciated, and Mr. Balfour is anxious that the supreme instance of it should not be pronounced incredible beforehand. He is particularly happy in his treatment of the belief in the Incarnation as affected by the Copernican theory of the universe. Now, more than ever, that belief seems to him to vindicate itself as worthy, credible, and morally necessary. "In the world looked at by the light of simple theism, the evidences of God's material power lie about us on every side, daily added to by science, universal, overwhelming. The evidences of His moral interest have to be anxiously extracted, grain by grain, through the speculative analysis of our moral nature. Mankind, however, are not given to speculative analysis; and if it be desirable that they should be enabled to obtain an imaginative grasp of this great truth; if they need to have brought home to them that in the sight of God the stability of the heavens is of less importance than the moral growth of a human spirit, I know not how this end could be more completely attained than by the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation."

This is the climax of a very remarkable book. Perhaps it will not convince many, but it is not written so much to convince, as to make room for conviction. The scepticism in it does not mean that all beliefs are equally destitute of foundation, but that all classes of beliefs have to a far greater extent than is usually supposed the same foundation, and are therefore not at liberty to pronounce each other "outlaws of reason." His provisional unification leaves at least the outlook open towards Christianity, and disposes the mind to welcome rather than to contest it. For all this we may be grateful, the more so as Mr. Balfour may command a hearing where preachers might knock in vain. And preachers themselves, though they must feel that the power of Christianity to com-

mand belief rests in the whole thing taken together, and is lost when an attempt is made to plead for this or that aspect of it in isolation from the rest, will find much in it to repay their study, and to contribute to their work.

MR. BALFOUR'S ATTACK ON AGNOSTICISM.*

I.

BY T. H. HUXLEY.

From *The Nineteenth Century* (London), March, 1895.

IN the second century of the existence of Imperial Rome, any one interested in the future of that vast and ancient society would have done well to take careful note of certain movements of thought and drifts of opinion which, however overlooked, perhaps despised, by the mere administrator bent on the maintenance of civil order, or by the mere politician, thirsting for a profitable pro-consulship, might loom larger than patrician conspiracies, or the massing of barbarians on the frontier, to a statesman.

Generation after generation of hard-headed, hard-fisted, eminently practical Quirites had held together; and, by courage, intelligence, industry, frugality, force, fraud—whichever came handiest—had raised an aggregation of obscure hamlets on and about the Palatine hill by the Tiber into the sovereign city of the largest and, in spite of all shortcomings, the best organized, realm the world had ever known. It had been of immense service to these singular Romans that they held a common faith, which inspired them with both piety and enthusiasm. And though the piety was not incompatible with calculation, and the enthusiasm generally had an eye to business, these qualities were none the less efficient. Their *religio* really bound the individual lives into a common life, and subordinated personal interests to those of the community.

But, in the second century, this theory of the nature of the things and of the human obligations consequent upon it, was far advanced in the process of decay. It had long been difficult for reasonably honest people even to pretend to believe in the mythological fables held sacred by their forefathers; and, for a considerable time, the Augurs had been suspected of smiling, perhaps of winking, at one another during the performance of their sacred office. There was much refined depravity among the upper classes, much ignorance, suffering, and sheer brutality among the lower; though it is greatly to be doubted if the

Rome of Hadrian was one whit worse than the Paris of Louis the Fifteenth, the London of George the Second, or the Petersburg of Catherine the Second; to say nothing of the Papal Rome of thirteen centuries later.

As confidence in the old, and somewhat cold, national religion had waned, foreign, chiefly Oriental, superstitions of a more emotional cast had found wide acceptance. From mystic, quasi-philosophical theosophies to the vulgarist corybantic revivals, there were creeds to suit every taste, and missionaries and ministers thereof to draw upon every believer's purse. Thiasoi and sodalities of Isis, of Mithra, of Serapis; Israelite synagogues, each with its gentile zone of half-proselyte "fearers of God"; Christian ecclesiæ, Catholic, Schismatic, Gnostic, answered to the motley variety of churches and chapels with which we Britons have been said to compensate ourselves for the uniformitarianism of our cooks. Besides all these, more or less (too often less!) serious and respectable embodiments of the religious spirit, swarmed a wretched brood, full of superstitious and magical practices, many of them honest survivals of savagery, but many more gross and criminal impostures, analogous to so much of modern spirit-rapping and table-turning. Flourishing prototypes of our Cagliostros and Blavatskys abounded; while for these wolves and foxes, innumerable sheep and geese had been prepared by the over-civilization which then, as now, sapped manhood and debased and distorted womanhood.

These were the highly cultivated of their age—the people who had read books without end, and who, nevertheless, were more profoundly ignorant of the realities of things than the slaves in their ergastula; human beings with their powers of observation withered by disuse, their powers of reasoning stunted by love of novelty and smartness and by devotion to forms of expression, instead of attention to the substance of that which is expressed. The man of letters was dying out; Gigadibsius,* the *littérateur*, was taking his place, and nobody knew the difference.

Such half-cretinized products of over-civilization; neurotics, exhausted by unceasing indulgence of the senses and the emotions, creatures flabby in body, with the acute sensibility of the weak mind in place of intelligence, are puppets in the hands of a really

* "You Gigadibs, who, thirty years of age,

Believe you see two points in Hamlet's soul
Unseized by the Germans yet—which view you'll
print."

Bishop Blougram's Apology, Browning's Works, vol. i.

* By permission of the Leonard Scott Publication Co.

virile and able impostor. A rare combination of faculties, each good in itself—courage, resource, imagination, above all, force—is required for the making of a really great liar. No one attains that high position until he has reached the point of being able to believe his own fictions for so long as his interests require that prodigious effort.

The confident assertion of such a genius of fraud sweeps the neurotics and the Gigadibsi off their feet. The former are carried away, as it were, by a nervous avalanche; the latter because, never having possessed any solid intellectual foundation, their feet go up and their heads down, like those of boys on a slide before the swoop of a burly man. It is these people who cannot be got to understand that the absence of proof against, is not the same thing as the presence of evidence for, an assertion; and that the occurrence of a certain form of the would-be miraculous in every age, and among all nations, is not the least reason for thinking that there must be "something in it" beyond the folly, or the fraud, which competent investigation always shows to be the "something." That true man of letters, Lucian, had something to say about these people and their dupes which is well worthy of modern attention.

Amidst this seething multitude, the seeker after higher manifestations of human nature would hardly distinguish more than three. For the rarely counted, but by no means lowest, type, illustrated by those who strive to do the duty which lies before them to the best of their ability and with as little speculation as possible, usually remains invisible. The visible three, who possessed not only the will to act up to a standard of duty, but a theory of the nature of things more or less connected with their practice, were the Stoics (including the better class of Cynics), the Jews, and those ultra-liberal Jews by doctrinal filiation who were known as Christians.

The best men among the Roman upper classes were either professedly Stoics, or deeply tinged with Stoicism. That philosophy is the most thoroughly materialistic which has ever been promulgated; it is also essentially pantheistic, and logically committed to Determinism. At the same time, the Stoics held, as strongly as any modern orthodox professor of moral philosophy, by "eternal and immutable" principles of morality. Cynicism was merely the rigorous carrying-out of the ascetic principles which all Stoics professed; just as Monachism is only the Sermon on the Mount reduced to practice. And, if the baser Cynicism led to the degradation of

Stoicism, it did not sink it further than the baser Monachism was soon to sink Christianity.

The Jew was just what he is now. He occupied the same sort of position in Roman society as he did in English society a century ago. He was unenfranchised and despised, but influential; ridiculed, but courted. And he exhibited, as it seems to be his fate always to exhibit, human nature, here in its brightest and best, and there in its darkest and worst, colors.

The Christian societies, as yet in the independent stage of ecclesiastical evolution, were, socially, much in the position of our little local "Salvation" conventicles before they were captured and "generalised" by private enterprise. Authentic accounts of the practices and of the teaching current among them may be found in Justin Martyr and in the *Didache*. The curious, on the other hand, may easily acquaint themselves with the teaching which was not then "current" by perusing the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, supplemented by the Thirty-nine Articles, all of which, and the Catechism, were to be found, in my young days, in the Book of Common Prayer. I am still grateful to them for whiling away the tedium of many a dull sermon to which I was compelled to seem to listen.

* * * * *

If a looker-on had possessed an unusual share of sagacity—perhaps more than one has any right to expect of mortal man—he might have divined that the future of the Western world turned, not so much on the result of the coming death-grapple between the Empire and its neighbors, as on that of the struggle for supremacy of the theories of the nature of things and of the proper regulation of human action among them, held by these three sections of the community; little as the average Cæsar, or Præfectus Prætorii, might consider any of these minorities worthy of his attention, except as troublesome, impracticable people, with whom shortening by the head was probably the only effectual corrective of incomprehensible perversity and seditious obstinacy.

We are made wise by the events of nearly seventeen hundred years. The Barbarians have done exactly what it was to be expected they would do. The Roman Empire, and even the Holy Roman Empire, have distilled away into the limbo of nonentity; and only a *caput mortuum* remains, as that poor "prisoner of the Vatican," who fulfils the ideal of a prisoner, according to modern philanthropy, in so far as he lives in much more comfort and splendor than any honest laborer known to me. And, in all this time,

the struggle for mastery between the scientific spirit temporarily incarnate in Greek philosophy, and the spirits of post-prophetic Judaism, and of that prophetic Judaism, already covered by Hellenism, which bore the name of Christianity, has gone on, until, now, Judaism stands substantially where it did; while the simple Christian faith of the second century has been overlaid and transmuted by Hellenic speculation into the huge and complex dogmatic fabric of Ecclesiastical Christianity. Finally, the scientific spirit, freed from all its early wrappings, stands in independence of, and for the most part in antagonism to, its ancient rivals. Its cosmology, its anthropology, are incompatible with theirs; its ethics are independent of theirs.

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That, if I mistake not, is in broad outline the state of affairs among us; and the future of our civilization as certainly depends on the result of the contest between Science and Ecclesiasticism which is now afoot, as the present state of things is the outcome of the former strife. To those who hold this view, the competency or incompetency of the "shepherds of the people," whether lay or clerical, will seem to be closely connected with their capacity to recognize these leading factors in the formation of opinion. For it is by opinion that men always have been, and always must be, governed, since force, their obvious and immediate master, is but opinion's bully. Therefore it is eminently satisfactory to find that one, at any rate, of our political chiefs, already occupying a high place, and sure to go higher, not merely in official rank, but, if I may have an opinion on such a matter, in the estimation of his countrymen, whatever their politics, is fully awake to these facts; that he clearly sees the important consequences, both speculative and practical, which are likely to flow from an antagonism in the world of thought of a much sharper and more serious kind than has ever yet existed; and, perhaps, notes the significant circumstance that force no longer waits upon the orders of only one of the combatants; that the heretofore weaker has become strong and is daily growing in power.

Mr. Balfour styles one of these protagonists "Naturalism"; the other he is curiously shy of naming, except so far as the sadly vague appellation of "current teaching" may be called a name. Since the purpose of his work is to set in order the "Foundations of Belief," and since that belief is, I apprehend, essentially theological, I might,

perhaps, prefer "Theologism" as an equivalent to "current teaching." But I live in due terror of the theologians. They might quarrel with me, and, as we shall see, not without some show of reason, on the ground that a theology with doctrines such as these set forth in this "current teaching" does not exist. However, a name I must have for "current teaching," if only to avoid circumlocution, and I can hit upon nothing better than "Demomism"; for Liddell and Scott say that the verb *δημόμιαι* signifies to "talk popularly"; and that, I suppose, is just what "current teaching" comes to.

Readers of the *Foundations of Belief* must be very learned and very acute if they do not find much to instruct them; very dull if enjoyment of dialectic fence is not largely mingled with their gratitude for that instruction; and, if they are not devoid of the literary sense, they must feel the charm of a style which flows like a smooth stream, sparkling with wit and rippling with ear-casms enough to take away any reproach of monotony. To devote more than a passing word to the glories of the shield, the weight of the spear, and the sharpness of the sword of Achilles would be a sorry compliment to that hero. And, glad as I should be to linger over Mr. Balfour's merits as a literary artist, I may not stay to do more than hint my appreciation of the hue of scepticism which overspreads the *Foundations* so extensively, that a less sympathetic observer might easily fail to distinguish between what is rock and what is sand. But I must bethink me that contributors, at any rate, belong to the strictly conditioned world; and, mindful of editorial space and readers' patience, hasten on to perform the business I had in mind when I set out. This is to discuss, assuredly in no controversial spirit, but solely with the desire to get things clear in my own and other minds, what appear to me to be the fundamental positions of Mr. Balfour's attack upon Agnosticism, and how far that attack has succeeded; or, perhaps, not succeeded. In this frame of mind, I desire to make the most liberal allowance for the difficulties in which his plan of campaign has involved even so skilful a tactician. It is not always easy to state one's own opinions in an adequate manner; and when one attempts to set forth those of other people, a large experience, I think, justifies the opinion that the effort is rarely satisfactory—at least to the other people.

But Mr. Balfour has not merely undertaken to define the opinions of a school to which he professedly has an antipathy: he has been at the trouble to provide the scholars with a catechism; a sort of Delphin

* *Foundations of Belief*, p. 83.

edition of Naturalism, in *usum studiosæ juventutis*.* Now, I ask whether even such a moderate and judicial-minded person as Athanasius, who, as he was long since promoted to sainthood, must doubtless have been as well aware as Mr. Balfour "of the necessity of undertaking a work of this kind in an impartial spirit," was likely to give a definition of Arianism which would be quite satisfactory to Arius. still more to draw up a catechism which would prove acceptable to the congregations of the Goths who, unhappily, professed that heresy?

Thus the probabilities seem to be heavily against the success of Mr. Balfour's enterprise, so far as Naturalism is concerned; and yet failure on this point may involve total defeat. If "Naturalism," as defined and catechetically represented by him, is a body of doctrine which nobody holds; if "Naturalistic" teaching and teachers are as devoid of real existence as Hippogriffs and Chimæras, the champion of Demômism is doing battle with the air. Of course I do not deny, indeed it is my purpose to affirm, that there is something else to which this "Naturalism" stands in the relation of a mere distorted shadow, and which is very solid and stern reality.

As I have said, I have sought in vain for any precise definition (outside the catechism to be considered further on) of Demômism in Mr. Balfour's pages. But that it is put forward as substantially one with the "current" theology and the "current" religion is clear from a passage at p. 7, which states that "Naturalism is in reality the only system which ultimately profits by any defeats which Theology may sustain, or which may be counted on to flood the spaces from which the tide of Religion has receded." I shall have to differ so much from Mr. Balfour that I am glad to mark my entire agreement with this statement, provided always that I may substitute Agnosticism, as I understand it, for Naturalism, as he defines it.

Naturalism, on the other hand, obtains the honor of a full description *in limine* (p. 6).

Agnosticism, Positivism, Empiricism, have all been used, more or less correctly, to describe this scheme of thought; though, in the following pages, for reasons with which it is not necessary to trouble the reader, the term which I shall commonly employ is Naturalism. [But whatever the name selected, the thing itself is sufficiently easy to describe. For its leading doctrines are that we may know "phenomena," and the laws by which they are connected, but nothing more. "More there may or may not be; but if it exists we can never apprehend it; and whatever the World may be, 'in its real-

ity' (supposing such an expression to be other than meaningless), the World for us, the World with which alone we are concerned or of which we alone can have any cognizance, is that World which is revealed to us through perception, and which is the subject-matter of the Natural Sciences."*

I must remark that "Naturalism" is a well-known and perfectly understood technical term of philosophy, and applies to all systems of speculation from which the supernatural is excluded, whether it be merely ignored or expressly denied. Naturalism proper has nothing to do with the specific doctrines of Materialism or of Idealism, of Determinism or Libertinism, but is compatible with any of these doctrines. So the professor of "Naturalism" may be a pure empiric, or a believer in innate ideas; a Platonist or an Epicurean. Doctrines as widely different as the pantheism of Spinoza and the so-called atheism of the Buddhist are forms of "Naturalism." However, it is not necessary to do more than signalize the possibility and the probability that serious errors of connotation may arise from this novel use of old language, and to remark, in the interests of Agnosticism, that it has not, necessarily, anything whatever to do with Naturalism properly so called. For one may surely hold that he knows nothing about any supernatural powers, and even is unacquainted with any means of knowing about them, and yet totally refuse to commit himself to the denial of their existence? The elementary consideration so often, but it would seem quite uselessly, urged that a man may say he knows nothing of any Saturnians and does not believe we shall ever have the means of knowing, and yet leave the existence or non-existence of inhabitants in that planet quite open, is surely worth some attention. The choice of a term which is open to so much misunderstanding seems to me unfortunate, from all points of view, except, perhaps, that of the pure polemic. I object to making Agnosticism the scapegoat, on whose head the philosophic sins of the companions with whom it is improperly associated may be conveniently piled up.

Before now, I have had occasion to speak of the pedigree of Agnosticism; and I have vainly endeavored to placate its enemies by showing that it is really no child of mine, but that it has a highly respectable lineage which can be traced back for centuries. I will not repeat anything I may have said elsewhere, but I think the opportunity fitting to set forth, for the first time, the particular

* *Foundations of Belief*, pp. 83-85.

* The brackets are inserted for a purpose which will appear later on.

passage in an essay by Sir William Hamilton, published in 1829, and first read by me about the year 1840, which, so far as I am concerned, is the original spring of Agnosticism:

Philosophy, if viewed as more than a science of the conditioned, is impossible. Departing from the particular, we admit that we can never, in our highest generalizations, rise above the finite; that our knowledge, whether of mind or matter, can be nothing more than a knowledge of the relative manifestations of an existence, which in itself it is our highest wisdom to recognize as beyond the reach of philosophy—in the language of St. Austin, "*cognoscendo ignorari, et ignorando cognosci.*"*

When, long years after these words had made an indelible impression on my mind, I came across the *Limits of Religious Thought* (which I really did read, though the fact that I once unfortunately spelt Mansel with two l's has been held by a candid critic to be proof to the contrary), I said to myself "Connu!"; and the thrill of pleasure with which I discovered that in the matter of Agnosticism (not yet so christened), I was as orthodox as a dignitary of the Church, who might any day be made a bishop, may be left to the imagination.

Let me beg attention to a few more of the weighty words which for some fifty-odd years have had their echo in my mind, and have determined the nature of the philosophy—be it good, bad, or indifferent—which, for me, is Agnosticism; which have led me to follow Socrates in the belief that the knowledge of what we do not know is, perhaps, the surest; and to hold that those who do not attain that knowledge, who presume beyond human limitations, are rightly visited with the punishment of becoming the slaves of their own delusions, the worshippers of idols, which are their own works as much as if they were hand-made.

Loath to admit that our science is at best the reflection of a reality we cannot know, we strive to penetrate to existence in itself; and what we have labored intensely to attain, we at last fondly believe we have accomplished. But, like Ixion, we embrace a cloud for a divinity. Conscious only of—conscious only in and through, limitation, we think to comprehend the infinite; and dream even of establishing the science—the *nescience* of man on an identity with the omniscience of God. It is this powerful tendency of the most vigorous minds to transcend the sphere of our faculties, which makes a "learned ignorance" the most difficult acquirement, perhaps, indeed, the consummation, of knowledge. In the words of a forgotten but acute philosopher—*Magna, immo maxima pars sapientiæ est—quædam æquo animo nescire velle* (l. c. p. 36).

* *Discussions in Philosophy and Literature*, by Sir W. Hamilton (1852), p. 14.

Suum cuique.* Here is the cardinal proposition of Agnosticism, as I understand it, set forth, with a force and clearness that have never been surpassed, sixty-six years ago.

The discipline of natural science, however, is in no respect more important and more valuable than its constant practical admonitions to swear by no master. After all this warning that the limits of our powers of conception are no measure of the possibilities of existence, and against our tendency to fancy "the domain of knowledge as necessarily co-extensive with the horizon of our faith," Hamilton forgets that, contrariwise, the domain of faith may extend so far outside the horizon of possible knowledge, that we have no right to speak of its objects in the language of cognition.

"By a wonderful revelation," he says:

we are thus, in the very consciousness of our inability to conceive aught above the relative and finite, inspired with a belief in the existence of something unconditioned beyond the sphere of all comprehensible reality (l. c. p. 15).

And a note added, after the mature reflection of twenty years, in the *Discussions* expands this passage:

True, therefore, are the declarations of a pious philosophy—"A God understood would be no God at all," "To think that God is as we can think Him to be, is blasphemy." The Divinity, in a certain sense, is revealed; in a certain sense is concealed: He is at once known and unknown. But the last and highest consecration of all true religion must be an altar—*Ἀγνὸς Θεὸς*—"To the unknown and unknowable God." In this consummation, nature and revelation, paganism and Christianity, are at one: and from either source the testimonials are so numerous that I must refrain from quoting any. Am I wrong in thinking that M. Cousin would not repudiate this doctrine?

There was a time, I confess, when this eloquent rhetoric attracted me. That deep-seated repugnance of the human mind, especially of the young mind, "*quædam æquo animo nescire velle*," was strong in me; and I was as ready as Hamilton himself to forget his own warning, to confuse the necessities of thought with the obligations of things, and, hypostatizing nescience, pretend, under the guise of Faith, to the possession of Knowledge. But riper years have brought rooted dislike to the language, and distrust of the dialectic process exemplified by the passage I have last cited. It seems to me that the admission of a state of mind intermediate between knowledge and

* "*Suum*"—with so much right of property as is conferred by clear definition. Hamilton's profound acquaintance with the history of philosophy would, of course, have estopped from him claiming more.

no-knowledge is fatal to all clear thought, and holds the door open to the return of one or other of the many forms of the Absolute which Hamilton took so much trouble to expel. There is no intermediation between a straight line and a bent line: however slight may be the deviation of the latter, it is not straight. There is nothing intermediate between darkness and light: the merest glimmer of twilight is as much not-darkness as broad sunshine. If "a God understood is no God at all," a God of whom nothing can be predicted is, for us, a possibility to be borne in mind, but not a subject of knowledge. If "to think that God is as we can think him to be, is blasphemy," to think that he has no thinkable attributes easily runs into the thought that he has none which can affect us; in fact to the theology of Epicurus. Construed strictly, therefore, this "pious philosophy" comes to pretty much what "current teaching" is fond of calling impiety. Is it not better to keep silence about matters which speech is incompetent to express; to be content with revolving in the depths of the mind the infinite possibilities of the unknown?

It is a noteworthy circumstance that Hamilton, usually so accurate, has interpolated into his translation of *ἄγνωστον θεῷ* the words "and unknowable," which, I apprehend, have no sort of business there. For *ἄγνωστον* so far as I can ascertain, always means "unknown" (whether from ignorance or forgetfulness), and implies nothing about the possibility of being known. I am at this moment *ἄγνωστον* of what my gardener is doing, but it is certainly nothing unknowable. Moreover, as the Athenians used the word in the inscription which the Apostle read, they certainly did not mean to honor an "unknowable" Deity, but simply any divine personage who by mischance had been overlooked. If our philosopher had contented himself with pointing out the indubitable fact that the limitation of human knowledge to the relative and the finite affords as little foundation for denial as for affirmation, concerning that which lies beyond our cognizance; if, by way of counterpoise to the proposition that it is "blasphemy to think that God is as we can think him to be," he had added that it is preposterous to assert that there is no God, because he cannot be such as we can think him to be, I fancy he would have taken up a position of unassailable security, and might have done something to let the wind out of the bladder of dogmatic Atheism.

* * * *

It may seem that we have strayed a long

way from the discussion of the definitions of Naturalism and Demômism; but the excursion has been made with premeditation. For the passage which I have enclosed between brackets in that definition of "Naturalism," cited above, which is said to contain the leading doctrines and to be the equivalent of Agnosticism, Empiricism, and Positivism, would serve very well for a paraphrase of language employed not merely by Hamilton, but, before him, by Kant, by Hume, by Berkeley, and by Locke; that is, by the philosophers who are generally accounted the heads of schools as widely different as the Critical, the Sceptical, the Idealist, and the Empirical. So far, therefore, Mr. Balfour's "Naturalism" runs, not merely with Agnosticism and with Empiricism, but with much else. The doctrine that the subject-matter of knowledge is limited to phenomena (though I believe the term "phenomenon" has come into general use only since Kant) is common to all I have mentioned. And it is as common to all of them to include mental as well as physical phenomena among the subject-matters of knowledge. So far as I can discover, there is no authority whatever for limiting the application of the word "phenomena" to the appearances which in ordinary language are ascribed to external objects.

I am loath to quote myself, but in a discussion about Agnosticism I hope I may be forgiven for doing so. Seventeen years ago I wrote thus:

Observation of the mind makes us acquainted with nothing but certain events, facts, or phenomena (whichever name be preferred). . . . To all these mental phenomena, or states of our consciousness, Descartes gave the name of "thoughts," while Locke and Berkeley termed them "ideas." Hume, regarding this as an improper use of the word "idea," for which he purposes another employment, gives the general name of "perceptions" to all states of consciousness.*

It really is not open to dispute that the sense here attached to the word "phenomenon" is that which was, and is, universally recognized by philosophical writers. Mr. Balfour, on the other hand, seems to me to employ it in a sense peculiar to himself, if I may judge by what follows the bracketed sentence in the citation given above. He appears to restrict the term "phenomena" to those which constitute the subject-matter of the Natural Sciences, mental states not being reckoned among them.

The explanatory and apologetic note which follows does not touch my difficulty; on the contrary, the explanation makes

* Hume, *Collected Addresses*, vi. 73-74.

matters worse, and the apology appears to be due for another wrong.

Roughly speaking, things and events, the general subject-matter of Natural Science, is what I endeavor to indicate by a term [*i. e.*, phenomenon] for which, as thus used, there is unfortunately no substitute (p. 7).

Thus it would appear that, not content with devising dogmatic definitions and catechisms for philosophers of another way of thinking, Mr. Balfour proposes, incidentally, to remodel their technical terminology, and to attach original and hitherto quite unheard-of significations to old-established terms. We have seen what has happened to "Naturalism"; "Phenomenon" comes even worse off. That which, as it was introduced into philosophical language, had the value of "appearance" ("roughly speaking, things and events") of every description, has had a "monstrous cantle" cut out of its patrimony, and is restricted to the general subject-matter of Natural Science.

I am afraid it must be admitted that the brilliancy which hovers over the pages of the *Foundations of Belief* is sometimes so vague and shifty that, like a hostile searchlight, it often spreads confusion where it professes to illuminate. One thinks to seize something logically tangible, and lo! it is gone. Even now, I am not quite sure of Mr. Balfour's meaning. For it may be that "Natural Science," like "Naturalism" and "Phenomenon," is used in a sense different from that employed by the rest of the world.

Let it not be suggested that this is mere carping, inasmuch as the subject-matter of the Natural Sciences is clearly enough affirmed to be "that world which is revealed to us through perception." Alas! like the honest farmer in face of unwonted claret, I am "no forrarder" for these repeated draughts of definition. For what is meant by "perception"? I think modern usage generally confines the application of the word to operations of the mind concerned with the phenomena of what is termed the external world. We are said to "perceive" external objects and sensible phenomena generally. I do not think any one would say that we perceive love, or hatred, or mathematical axioms. On the other hand, as I have just pointed out, Hume (and I may add, Locke) set a precedent which might be cited to justify the application of the term perception to the subject-matter of all knowledge.

I apprehend, however, that it cannot be Mr. Balfour's intention to take advantage of

Hume's authority. For, in that case, the world "revealed to us by perception" would be the totality of phenomena, both mental and bodily. And much as I might desire to do so, I am unable to imagine it is intended to pay the devotees of Natural Science the compliment of supposing that they may legitimately entertain the ambition of Bacon, and "take all knowledge for their province." In fact, this is just what Mr. Balfour objects to their doing.

Hence I feel shut up to the conclusion that "perception," for Mr. Balfour, means nothing more than "perception through the senses"; and that the Natural Sciences of which he speaks are such as Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Mineralogy, and Botany. The following skimming appears to give us the cream of Mr. Balfour's view of Naturalism (and therefore of Agnosticism):

Here, and here only [that is to say, among the objects of Natural Science], are we on firm ground. Here, and here only, can we discern anything which deserves to be described as Knowledge. Here, and here only, may we profitably exercise our reason or gather the fruits of Wisdom. Such, in rough outline, is Naturalism (p. 7).

Unfortunately, the limitation of Natural Science to such branches as I have just mentioned, to the exclusion of Zoology and Physiology, would be as original an innovation, and even more startling and less justifiable, than those already discussed. Natural Science really must be admitted to include what all the world calls "Natural History"; and, in Natural History, with all respect to my colleagues the Botanists, Zoology is the predominant partner.

Now, the study of animals involves that investigation of all the activities they manifest which is the province of the department called Physiology. From Haller, in the middle of the last century, down to the latest physiological birth of time, the right of the physiologists to deal with the animal mind, as well as with the animal body, has never been questioned. Since the *Prima Lineæ* were published, no authoritative compendium of Physiological Science has lacked its psychological section; sometimes its psychological treatise. Thus no conception of Natural Science which excludes Psychology can possibly be entertained. But, if Natural Science rightfully includes Psychology, the phenomena of Consciousness fall within its province. And if the physiologists had not too much to do at home already, and stretched forth their hands over the whole realm of mind, I know of

no logical barrier strong enough to bar an indefinite extension of the dominion of Natural Science in this direction. *Quæta non movere* is an admirable maxim in many practical contingencies. It is really better to leave these Natural Science people alone; or the day may come when they will put forward a claim to History and Art, in both of which provinces Archaeology has already planted their flag; to Ethics, where Evolution has even now something to say; nay, perhaps (horrible to reflect!), over Theology, where a close ally of Natural Science, the "Higher Criticism," is already ravaging the hinterland. It may be good policy, therefore, not to stir ambitions, hitherto dormant, by a fruitless attempt to deprive Natural Science of territory of which it has long had undisputed possession, and to restrict it to the world of material, even including purely vegetative, phenomena. There is no worse statesmanship than that which irritates those whom it is powerless to constrain.

But if the "Natural Science" of Mr. Balfour is unlike anything known to men of science, it follows that the view of "Naturalism" founded on it, and the conceptions of Empiricism and Agnosticism, which are counted among the forms of Naturalism, are equally non-existent.

For Empiricism, at any rate, this easy deduction is readily verified. I suppose I may assume that Locke, generally labelled the father of the experience philosophy, is a representative of Empiricism. Is he not known to all those who take their philosophy from text-books and compilations (that is, most people) as the author of the dictum, "*Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu?*" ("In the intellect there is nothing except that which has been sensation.") And do not these same sources of information usually celebrate the sagacity of Leibnitz in correcting Locke's error by the famous addition "*nisi intellectus ipse?*" ("except the intellect itself").

But it will happen to any one who, having been trained by Historical or Natural Science in the excellent practice of consulting original sources, attempts to verify these statements, to discover that Locke said nothing of the kind, either in Latin or in any other language; that Leibnitz does not attribute the saying to him, but ascribes it, vaguely, to "les Philosophes"; and that, after stating his own opinion, he winds up with the declaration that "*Cela s'accorde assez avec Votre Auteur de l'Essai [to wit, Locke].*"*

* *Nouveaux Essais*. Tome second, chap. i. I have given Leibnitz's version of the dictum. In others "*prius*" or "*ante*" comes after "*non*."

For, as Leibnitz justly points out, Locke over and over again insists that we have not one source of knowledge, sense, but two, sense and reflection; nor, less frequently, that the additions to our knowledge obtained through the latter channel are the result of the activity of the mind itself. If Locke says that experience is the origin of all knowledge, we must bear in mind that he means internal experience as well as external. Therefore, if Locke is an "Empiric," so is Kant. In fact, I know not who can hope to escape the name, except the Fichtean idealist, for whom the activity of the Ego is the sole source of phenomena. Even Berkeley assumes sensation to have an external cause in God.

Positivism I leave to take care of itself. As to Agnosticism, as I am concerned only with looking after the interests of that form of it which I profess myself, the perusal of the preceding pages will probably suffice to indicate that I wholly repudiate Mr. Balfour's portrait of it. Nor is this repudiation based merely upon the Definition given in the "Preliminary," though I have hitherto gone no further for questionable matter. The catechism is open to equally serious objection. Moreover I venture to doubt whether Demômism has been any better served; and whether the real "current teaching"—that which Mr. Balfour and his political friends desire to force upon present and future generations of English school-children—has, so far as it covers philosophical ground, any resemblance to that elevated creed to which "Naturalism" is made to play the part of a foil.

But justice could not be done to the discussion of these and various other interesting and important topics within the compass of a single article.

(To be concluded.)

AUGUST DILLMANN.

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II.

THOUGH for many years widely known as an Ethiopic scholar, Dr. Dillmann had, up to the year of his settling at Berlin (being then forty-six years of age), produced no book outside his special line of study, and, as the bibliography will show, but few articles. In 1869 the first edition of his *Commentary on the Book of Job* was published. The

fourth and last edition of this Commentary was issued in 1891, with many changes and improvements. If time failed him to make the necessary alterations, the reissue was delayed: he would never countenance a mere reprint.* In the preface to the last edition of his "Job" he accounts for the delay by his inability to find time to revise the work. All Dr. Dillmann's Commentaries appeared in the *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch* series, and were based upon earlier volumes in this series. The first edition of "Job" followed largely Hirzel's as amended by Justin Olshausen.

"Genesis," based in the first instance on Knobel, made its appearance in 1875. He brought out the sixth and last edition in 1892. I remember asking him, in July of that year, whether he was coming to the London Oriental Congress to be held in September. He replied that he intended spending his holiday in correcting the proof of the new edition of his "Genesis." This was the way in which he spent most of his holidays. How hard he worked during semester his students knew well. Yet whether term time or holiday he was always glad to welcome pupils who called to see him.

For a complete list of his Commentaries and for a list of his other writings, see the appended bibliography.

In learning, sound judgment, carefulness, and fairness, Dillmann's Commentaries are unexcelled, if not unequalled. He puts aside all theological or religious applications; there is in him none of the unctuousness which one expects to see in Delitzsch's and even in Canon Cheyne's Commentaries; he aims directly and solely at the elucidation of the text before him, and whatever aid philology, grammar, history, and archaeology—though he is less strong in this last—can give, is used.

In the interpretation of single words, their meaning, as settled or suggested by usage or by the cognate languages, was fully dealt with. Parallel passages were adduced in such abundance and with such quickness as to make it hard for the student to write them down. It is always easier to correct a hard text than to explain it, but this frequent resource of a shallow or hasty exegesis was seldom employed by Dillmann. When necessity was laid upon him he did not hold back from it, and perhaps,

as Dr. Budde suggests (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, p. 399, 1892), he more frequently adopted corrections of the text as time went on; but he often described the emendations of others as *nicht Hebräisch*, and instead of the not-Hebrew, showed the original to be good Hebrew and good sense.

Dillmann used the Jewish writings far less than Delitzsch. He was no doubt also less acquainted with them. But on the other hand, he was a far better Semitic scholar than Delitzsch, and he never descended to the vagueness or to the rabbinical quibbling too often seen in the writings of the justly celebrated Leipzig expositor.

One day I asked his opinion of the relative usefulness for Old Testament study of post-biblical Hebrew writings and of the languages cognate to Hebrew. His answer was at once on his lips: "The Mishnas, Talmuds, Midrashes, and the like, are almost useless; the exegesis in them is nonsense (*unsinn* was the word he used); keep on with your Arabic, etc.; they will pay you best." I could not help thinking at the time, and it is my opinion still, that Dillmann was somewhat prejudiced in the matter; and I fear that his prejudice arose from ignorance. I say this with the profoundest deference to the learning of this great and good man. But that his advice was in the main sound most competent judges will agree.

As to the value of Dillmann's Commentaries, Dr. Budde, in the number already quoted from—the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*—says truly that they are "the most perfect form of the *Commentarius perpetuus* to the Old Testament which the nineteenth century has produced." This testimony has greater weight when it is remembered that Dr. Budde belongs to the extreme left on Old Testament subjects, though a fairer and more genial critic is not to be found.

Dr. Driver, in his valuable *Introduction*, on p. 2, names the following as the most important works for studying the "Hexateuch":

1. Wellhausen's *On the Composition of the Hexateuch*.
2. The writings of Dillmann, Delitzsch, and Kuenen. Dillmann's Commentaries are named as specially helpful.

I myself, as a teacher of Hebrew and the Old Testament, have no hesitation in saying that Dillmann's Commentaries are, for the books expounded, the most useful on my shelves; and I have heard Professor Halévy of Paris, my dear friend Professor Marshall of Manchester, and many others give the same experience.

*The late deservedly famous English scholar, Dr. W. Wright of Cambridge, had a similar scruple. On the only occasion when I had the privilege of meeting him—it was just before his death—I asked him if, as the second edition of his *Arabic Grammar* was out of print, he intended issuing a third. He replied No, for since he published the second edition many native Arabic Grammars had appeared, and he would have to carefully study these before producing a third edition of his *Grammar*.

On the 25th of April, 1893, Dr. Dillmann reached the "three score years and ten," and many were the congratulations he received. The professors of all the faculties invited him to a banquet, at which eloquent testimony was borne to the magnificent work accomplished by the guest. A few days later the students of every faculty invited him to a *Fest Commmerz* held in his honor, and it was a sight to be remembered, to see the grand old man surrounded by so many of his youthful admirers, working most of them under other teachers, but all united in desiring to honor the first Ethiopic scholar, and one of the first Hebraists of his day.

The last time he was seen in the university was on Saturday morning, the 23d of June last. For two hours he discussed in seminar the first six verses of the last chapter of Malachi, laying special stress upon the words, "The Lord shall *suddenly* come to His temple." His final words were such as his students have often heard, "das Weitere das nächste Mal"—"More next time." He looked unusually wearied and pale, but no one suspected that his end was so near. He was taken so ill on returning to his home in Schill Street, that he was compelled to retire to bed. Here he remained most of the following eleven days, suffering from inflammation of the lungs. On the 4th of July he peacefully passed away. In Berlin there was such deep and widespread grief as has been rarely known. See the papers for the next day, one of which, the *National Zeitung*, lies before me as I write.

In class Dr. Dillmann was quiet, and kept closely to his paper. His voice was weak, but it was very distinct. He read quickly, and at times it was almost impossible to follow him, especially to write down the constant references he gave. But in his delivery there was no hesitation, and in its way the elocution was perfect. He had a very sweet voice, and a strikingly earnest, intellectual face. But what impressed me most was the intense conviction that rang out in the delivery: every word came from the heart. If one knew the man he could be traced in every utterance. The teacher whom, in this respect, I consider most like Dillmann is Dr. Martineau. When a student in London fifteen years ago, it was my privilege to attend the lectures, now published in two volumes, with the title *A Study of Religion*, and the remembrance of Dr. Martineau's beautiful face revealing a beautiful character, and of his very subdued but heart-charged delivery, remain

with me unto this present time. But Dr. Dillmann had more "go" than Dr. Martineau, and at times one could hear from the great Hebraist specimens of rich, dry humor. One morning, in seminar, I had the rare treat of seeing Dr. Dillmann smile: that smile was called forth by the ridiculous blunder of a student. Some of the students told me when the class was over that such an incident was unprecedented: they had never seen and never heard of Dillmann smiling in class before that day. They said I was highly favored in being able to witness such a sight.

If a student came to class late, it was the doctor's habit to raise his glasses and to fix his eyes upon him until he got to his place. All this time the other students stamped and hissed, so that we had strong inducements to be in time.

In the weekly "Seminar," where he got students to read and answer questions, he was very severe if he saw signs of laziness. Never have I heard any teacher use such invective and sarcasm as he did. Yet so great was his hold on the men, that no one thought of answering him or of resenting his treatment.

In the *Old and New Testament Student* for June, 1892, Dr. Rubinkam of Basel, writing of Professors Duhm and von Orelli, the Old Testament teachers at Basel University, adds these words: "Their geniality and courtesy in the seminar are in great contrast to the denunciations for ignorance which the students in Berlin seminar weekly accept from Dr. Dillmann." I attended Dr. Dillmann's seminar for four months without a single absence; but where he used strong language it was deserved. It was currently reported in Berlin that the laziest students were those of theology. Certainly, some of the students who belonged to Dillmann's classes cared little, if only they got their license to preach. Dr. Dillmann was a life-long worker: in session or in holidays, at home or abroad, he had always some work in hand. Tradition has it that during the forty-eight years of his career as teacher, he never missed a single class. Surely such a teacher might be excused if he showed scant pity for idle and careless students.

It may be well to add Dr. Dillmann's opinions on one or two things of interest. These I gathered from conversations with him, and they were recorded in my diary at the time.

Speaking to him about Hebrew grammars, he said that Böttcher's was good as a thesaurus. König's was valuable as giving the views of Kimchi and others; and its treat-

ment of the forms was excellent. Ewald's grammar was the best existing: it was much more satisfactory than even the last edition of Kautsch's *Gesenius*. Harper's books he knew nothing of, but he had not much faith in the inductive method. (It should be stated that elementary Hebrew is not taught in the German universities. It is the gymnasiums which give the grounding in the classical languages and in Hebrew.)

The best lexicon is still Gesenius's *Thesaurus*—so he considered. Mühlau and Volck's *Gesenius*, and also the new English and American *Gesenius*, edited by Professor Francis Brown (the first part had been sent him for review), were too fanciful in their etymologies. But he added, "I make my own lexicon as I go on; and that is what every student of the Old Testament should aim at doing." Of the work *Nominalbildung in den Semitischen Sprachen*, by my kind friend and teacher, Dr. Barth, and of the similar work by Lagarde (or "blagard" (blackguard), as in this work he appears). Dr. Dillmann answered, "Ganz Theorie"—"all theory."

He told me one afternoon that, in his opinion, the final settlement of Old Testament questions would come from England. He looked with thankfulness upon the growing band of careful Bible scholars to be found in this country. Of Dr. Driver he spoke in very high praise.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.*

BY REV. PROFESSOR ALLAN MENZIES, D.D.

From *The Thinker* (New York), March, 1895.

It has been felt ever since the science of religion began to be studied, that the new knowledge of the non-Christian faiths now opening to our eyes must have an important bearing on the theory at least, if not also on the practice of Christian missions. Before this science made its voice heard, the theory of missions was very simple indeed. It was believed, as it had been ever since the days of the Church Fathers, that the religions of the world ought to be divided into two classes, the false and the true—the latter class consisting of Christianity alone, with its preparation in Judaism; while the former embraced all the rest. If all the religions outside of Christianity were, as Calvin expressed it, nothing but a "huge welter of error," then the duty

of the Christian world was very plain. We are all familiar with the appeals for missions which were based on that conviction. If the whole world outside of Christianity was lying in darkness and error, if the Christian religion alone could save, while the votaries of other faiths were inevitably doomed to perish, then indeed the case was urgent. Whenever Christians came to be at leisure, to some extent, from their internal strifes, and began to realize how they alone possessed the medicine for want of which all the millions of mankind outside the Church were perishing, they were bound by every obligation they acknowledged, either to God or man, to do their utmost to spread the remedy and to bring to every child of Adam, with what speed they might, the knowledge of the one and sole salvation.

The science of religion, of which every one is now coming to know something, disturbs this simple theory, into the working out of which such noble earnestness and such heroic labors have been poured. It does so, to put the matter briefly, by showing us that the religions outside of Christianity are not false, but are all, in their place and in their measure, true. They are all seen to have sprung from the same root in human nature. The infinite variety and inconsistency which we see in them when we consider them *en masse*, turn out, when we consider them in detail, to be due, not to an original falsity in them, but to the manner in which the original religious motive has been modified by the infinite diversity of circumstance and history in which men have been placed. Each religion corresponds accurately to the character of the people who follow it, and to the position and the fortunes they have had. All men in all ages and in all parts of the world have sought to carry on intercourse with higher beings; human nature imposes this effort on all races of men. But they have carried it on as their national character suggested, and with the resources they possessed in each case, since they had no others. The Greeks found religious nourishment in representing the gods as fair men and women; the Latins, in maintaining punctiliously a system of worship which they did not understand; the Germans, in practising exciting rites; the Chinese, in the observance of filial piety and of stiff propriety; the Hindus, in mystic contemplation and asceticism. And each religion, not only the great ones, but each also of the numberless cults of savages and barbarians, is a part of the civilization of

* An address delivered to the Missionary Society of the University of St. Andrews.

the people practising it, which has grown with the growth of that people and suffered in its reverses, which is entwined in its nature and fits it as no other religion could. The religion of each people is inextricably connected with its character, corresponds to the stage of civilization to which the people has attained or lags a little behind it, and is the sacred vessel containing the most prized memories of the people's past, the ideals it cherishes in the present, and its hopes for the future. Thus, though some religions are no doubt better than others, since some nations have richer characters than others, or have met with more stimulating influences, or have had a happier history, yet each religion is good and natural in its own place. No two nations could possibly exchange religions; no nation can part with its religion without destroying its mental continuity and cutting itself off in a fatal way from the sources of its strength. The religions of the world cannot, then, be spoken of as being, with one exception, false. Not to speak of those worships which are evidently debasements and effete remainders of greater worships formerly existing in their place (and this description applies to a great part of the beliefs of savages), we may say that the religions of the world appear, when studied as they now are, to be not false, but true. Each of them represents the ideals of the race practising it, and the effort made by that race in the way which was natural to it, to connect itself with the ideal world. The religions of the world, therefore, are not to be hastily condemned. The attitude science bids us take up with reference to them is that which Spinoza described as the attitude the wise man should take up towards the various human beings he encounters in the world—*Non odisse, non ridere, non timere, sed intelligere*. They have a right to their existence, and our first duty towards them is to understand them.

Now, if we agree to all this, and hold that the educated person and the true Christian who has this insight is bound to regard the religions of the heathen world, not with condemnation, but as far as possible with sympathy, then it is a matter which calls for explanation that Christians send missionaries to peoples of other faiths, to try to draw these nations away from the religions which have been so intimate a part of all their growth and history, and ultimately, for this must presumably be the ultimate end, to subvert these religions altogether. We can no longer do this on the

old ground that the heathen religions are nothing but error, and that those who live and die in them must perish everlastingly. It is twenty-three years since Dean Stanley declared in Westminster Abbey that the belief that all the heathens are everlastingly lost was extinct. That statement, though it no doubt corresponds with the belief of the apostles and first Christians, is, if not quite extinct, yet rarely heard. Failing such a belief, and recognizing that the heathen religions are relatively true, and that each of them is an inseparable part of the life of its votaries, on what grounds do we still send missionaries to the heathens?

It is for our own sake that I propose this question—for the sake of our intellectual consistency as at once students of the science of religion in the forms it now assumes, and members of a missionary society. Were I speaking from practical knowledge of any part of the mission field, or from the point of view of the working missionary, no doubt the question would appear to some extent irrelevant. What I feel at present is the need for those who stay at home and encourage missionary effort abroad, to have a true theory of their action. They are responsible for the acts of the agents they send out, and if they go on sending missions to those for whose religions there is so much to be said, it is desirable that they should be able to justify themselves for doing so. My remarks will fall into two parts. I shall try to show first that comparative religion does not condemn the efforts Christians feel themselves bound to make to bring about the universal diffusion of their religion; and secondly, that our science suggests certain conditions which Christians ought to keep in view in making these efforts.

I. There is no need to dwell on the impulse which is felt, wherever the Christian religion is truly alive, to seek its extension to those who are to a less degree or not at all subject to its influence. The statement that those who have not known Christ must perish is a coarse way of putting the fact, which is familiar to all Christians, that Christ can do for men what we are sure that no other messenger sent to the world by God can do. And the statement that Christ Himself bade His apostles carry the tidings of Him to the whole creation, may be regarded as the external expression of the profound inner truth that the religion of love causes us to take an interest in all our fellow-men for their own sake, and to desire that they should all know that

secret, the possession of which alone raises human life to its full dignity and freedom and power. To know Christ in a living way as He prayed and labored, as He loved and helped His brethren—this for us is to know God, a God who lays upon us just and holy laws, and who yet is full of compassion for us and is daily helping us and making all things work together for good to us. This knowledge is so paramount, so incomparable to us, that we feel we could not face the duties and trials of life without it. But at the same time it makes the same love stir in our breasts towards others as that with which God has loved us; and these two things working together in our minds—the love God bears to us and the love He has caused us to feel towards other men—necessarily produce in us the missionary impulse. Even if we do not believe that the heathen are all perishing, and even if we do not quote in connection with the matter any direct command of Christ, but act on a free inward impulse of our own, we feel missionary enterprise to be a necessary feature of our position as Christians. Whether we know much or little about the religions of heathendom, it appears to be a matter on which no choice is left us, that we should send the knowledge of Christ to those who do not yet possess it. This is a duty which arises directly out of our Christian experience; no one who knows God as the loving Father of Jesus Christ can shake off that duty. While we continue Christians, comparative theology can do nothing to alter this conviction.

The assurance we thus reach by our own inner spiritual experience, that we ought to do what we can for the diffusion of our religion, is supported by observation of the character of our religion and of the effects it is fitted to produce where it is received. Before we go on to compare it with other religions, and to show that they find in it their natural consummation, we may ask, What is Christianity, and how does it act on men and on society? is it desirable, from this point of view, that it should spread? And here we at once notice certain features in Christianity which mark it out as fitted, if any one religion is fitted, to prevail over other faiths, and to become the sole religion of mankind. We speak of Christianity, of course, not as it is worked out in any of its existing forms. These are all defective; but our ideals of what it must be and our conviction and determination that it must yet come to correspond with these ideals—these also

are a part of Christianity. We feel it, then, to be a religion in which the endeavor after goodness and righteousness is dominant. There is no salvation in it apart from the constant effort to be good, and to do all the good we can. The Christian salvation consists in intercourse with a God who is supremely good and holy, and who desires goodness and holiness in us to such an extent that whenever we are not seeking His kingdom and righteousness, we cut ourselves off from Him. God, we feel, has no other desire for us than that we should be brought to the full enjoyment and the constant exercise of the highest goodness of which we are capable; and He is able and willing to help and encourage us in our endeavors to tread the narrow path. To convert men to Christianity, then, if that is done in the right way, is not to subject them to a conventional law or to a Church having selfish objects of her own, nor is it to start them in a method of procuring selfish benefits and enjoyments for themselves. It is to win them to the pursuit of the highest goodness they can think of, and to guarantee to them in that pursuit the highest aids.

Our religion, that is to say, is a religion of freedom and of self-respect; it is one in which the moral good of the individual stands above all other ends, and in which, therefore, the best energies of human nature are set to work and fresh springs of moral force unsealed. It is not denied by any whom we need here consider that Christianity has tended, on the whole, towards the emancipation of men. We may be certain that when it is better understood and is presented in its simplest and most natural form as being, whatever more it be, a union of man through Jesus Christ with the holy and living God, it will show that virtue still more strikingly. The abolition of the outward institution of slavery, which Christianity has brought about, will prove to be symbolic of the emancipation of the human mind wherever Christianity prevails, and of the gradual removal of arrangements which keep men down as the mere instruments of others, or as undistinguished and unvalued units of a crowd. By the importance it attaches to each individual, because he is dear to God, and by the encouragement it extends to each freely to develop his nature and his powers, Christianity will yet further enlarge human liberty, and will increase the number of those who of their own free motion are applying themselves to seek after what is best both for themselves and for their fellows.

On the one hand, then, we have convinced ourselves that to be true to our own experience as Christians who have found the secret of happy and successful living, we must strive to communicate that secret to others. On the other hand, we have convinced ourselves that it must be a good thing for the world that Christianity should spread in it, since its spread means the increase of human freedom, human happiness, and human power. And now we remember that to spread Christianity is to weaken and extinguish other religions which have also been good in their own place and among their own peoples; and we turn to comparative religion to see whether science justifies us in our desire to make our religion supreme over all others. Does science pronounce Christianity to be fitted for such a position of supremacy?

This question may confidently be answered in the affirmative. Science declares that religion is in proportion to civilization, and that the deepest and strongest religion is to be found where civilization reaches its highest advancement. Now, Christianity is the religious side of a civilization which is richer and more many-sided and affects the whole population to a greater degree than any civilization ever did before. It may, therefore, be presumed to be the highest religion, and to form the last stage of the long growth of the world's faith. In Christianity, if the principles still hold true in the highest stage, which have been observed to have force at lower stages, religion should be deeper, purer, more moral, than at any earlier stage, and should pervade with its influence, to a higher degree than ever before, the whole of man's life and thought. How far it still may be from having reached its best, we cannot tell; that there is great room for improvement, every man who thinks is well aware. But what is certain is, that the various developments which form part of the one great development of religion all converge and reach their last stage, so far as we can see, in Christianity, so that its claim to be considered the ultimate religion is, in manifold ways, confirmed. We can notice only a few of those lines of growth which issue at last in Christianity.

There is growth in religion in respect of the object which is worshipped. This is the main development traced in Professor Caird's *Evolution of Religion*. At first men worshipped what was outside themselves—objects of nature, great or small, the sun, the fountain, the animal, or what-

ever it was in which he believed that power to reside which he was seeking. When art awoke, then images of God were made, and with the growth of art man came to worship the beautiful human form, highest of all the subjects of art, and thus he came in time to know that the gods, though still outside himself, were human. Then the time came when man felt that there was that within himself which had authority for him at least equal to any that could be exercised by any outward power: the god outside grew pale, man's eye was turned within. A one-sided and defective religion this latter was, as well as the former. But in Christianity the God outside man, who controls the movements of all things, and the God who is present to man's mind, came together. The God who made heaven and earth is to the Christian the same Being as He who is present to each man in his closet; the God of love, to whom the heart rises through Jesus Christ, holds the reins of government, and guides all things with a view to the welfare of His human children. Beyond this view of the Deity as the Almighty Father of mankind, there is no further advance to be made; and Jesus Christ, by revealing God in this way, has done that which can never be done again in human history, and has attained a unique position in the religion of mankind, which He must always continue to occupy, and which makes Him, to say no more, a Personage most deeply interesting to all men.

This, no doubt, is the most important development of religion, in which man has risen from the external object of worship to adore the spiritual God, who rules the universe, but finds His principal manifestation in the mind and conscience of man. Many other lines of evolution, however, may be traced, in each of which the ultimate stage seems to be reached in Christianity. We may trace the progress from the many gods worshipped by early man, who added the new god to the old one, the god of one district to that of another, the god of the foreigner to his own. Though he worshipped many beings, there was a law in his mind which bade him worship only One; and, indeed, only one Supreme Being could possibly stand at a time in the temple of his mind. Thus, though he appears to have worshipped many beings indiscriminately, in reality he exalted now one and now another god above the rest. From this stage of henotheism, as it is called, advance was made to monotheism—to the permanent and stable rule of one

God only, who will have none other worshipped besides Himself. But monotheism, on the one hand, grew hard till the one God had too little sympathy with men, and they had recourse to a host of minor beings; or, on the other hand, it grew vague. God not being sufficiently distinguished from His works, and evaporated in pantheism, which leaves the life without guidance and the conscience cold. Thus, in both cases alike, monotheism ceased to retain a hold of man's whole nature. But the Christian worship of one God escapes from both these dangers. The God of the Christian rules without a rival, and yet He is real, personal, and human. He has in His nature such rich life and movement that He is not too far away from us, and His rule over the whole does not prevent His caring for the individual. He is a Father with an eternal Son, and it is through the exercise of the purest human affections that the soul rises to lay hold on Him.

Again, we may trace the history of worship from the rude, common meals of savages and the exciting and cruel rites of barbarism, through the stately ceremonials of the great sacerdotal systems, the self-abnegations and mutilations of ascetics, the ecstasies of mystics, to the broad and simple ideas so familiar to ourselves, that the sacrifice God would have from man is not anything that lies outside man's own person, but is the offering of the man himself, a living and reasonable service. In this view each man becomes a priest to God, and, standing before God as a priest, continually carries his living sacrifice into all his activities, and continues it during his whole lifetime. Where this idea of sacrifice is attained, all magic disappears out of worship; the religious acts of the Christian congregation are symbolic representations, instinct with the exercise of thought, and not without a constant striving after Divine truth and beauty, of that service which each individual is daily offering to God, and which the Christian community is helping its members to offer.

Or we might trace the relation between religion and morality. In early stages religious duties are not essentially moral. Things are done in connection with religion, not because they are right in themselves, nor because they are reasonable and fitting—far, indeed, are they in many cases from being so—nor because they will do any one any good, but simply because tradition requires them. The favor of the Deity depends on their being correctly done in a particular way, and no one can

tell why. In this state of matters, virtue consists, not in following one's ideal, nor in living according to reason, but in practising artificial duties, in doing things which are customary, in bowing down to things and persons not in themselves venerable, in believing things which are in themselves incredible. Good and evil are alike conventional and artificial, and it is dangerous to follow even the most generous impulses. A step removed from this moral system is that, of not unfrequent occurrence in history, of a double morality—a higher for the religious person, who is thus exalted above nature, and a lower for the layman, who is thus discouraged and depressed, since the highest goodness is quite out of his reach. But in Christianity, rightly understood, religion and morality cover the same ground, and are the same for all. No religious duties are required which do not bear on the task of being good, and there is no sphere of goodness which lies outside the ken of religion. God is present in every part of life, and all our duties, of whatever sort, are done for Him.

In all these cases it may be claimed for Christianity that, in its highest form, it is not an artificial system, but answers to the best ideas men have been able to form of what religion ought to be, and of the services it ought to render to the individual and to society. Christianity corresponds to the idea of religion; it is, as Hegel expressed it, religion itself made manifest. When, therefore, we offer it to races of men who have not yet accepted it, we are not asking them to exchange one imperfect form of religion for another—an exchange humiliating for them, and such as no good man could ask them to submit to; on the contrary, we are asking those who are somewhere far behind us on the road of the religious development of the world, to come up to us who stand in the front of that development, and to accept the highest religion that man has attained. Nor can it be said that Christianity is a religion for advanced European races, and that it is, perhaps, not fitted for the adoption of other races. Christianity is, in its essence, such a simple thing that nationality forms no bar to its acceptance. It has proved in the past that it is neither Jewish nor Greek, neither Oriental nor Western, but that it is capable of being the religion of the most diverse races of men, and of men in all stages of civilization. It is not national, but human; no artificial definitions or restrictions are essential to it. Whoever can understand the life of Jesus,

a human life full of God, and capable of lifting up to God all who come in contact with it, knows enough to be a Christian. This is what we mean when we say that Christianity is a universal religion. Its simplicity makes it universal. It is like bread; all can be nourished by it. It is like sunshine; all can rejoice in it.

Our conclusion is, therefore, in this part of our subject, that comparative religion does not discountenance Christian missions, but rather regards them as the natural and logical outcome of the past religious history of the world. Similar claims are made, it is true, for Buddhism and for Mohammedanism; but it is not necessary for our present purpose to discuss these claims. The science which teaches us to trace the progress of the world's religion teaches us that it must be right to offer to all men the religion which we know to be the highest, and after which all nations have unconsciously aspired.

II. On the other hand, the scientific study of religions suggests certain considerations as to the method to be followed in the conduct of missions, and as to the aim which should be kept immediately in view. We shall mention only two of these.

1. In the first place we learn from that study that religion is a national thing, and is always closely interwoven with national character and national history, so that no nation can possibly exchange its religion for another on a sudden. Any change of the kind must be gradual, and must take place in accordance with national sentiment. It has been questioned, indeed, whether any nation ever really changes its religion. Where such changes appear to have taken place, as in the case of the Northern peoples of Europe in the early Christian centuries, it is contended that the change was one rather of names than of substance. New gods were adopted, and Christian saints took the place of heathen heroes and wizards, but the sacred places and times remained as before, and so also did many sacred usages. In proof of this, we are bidden to consider how widely different a thing Christianity became in different nations adopting it. The religion practised north of the Alps and that practised south of the Alps are both called Christianity; but the two can scarcely be called one religion, so widely do they differ in sentiment and in practice, and so difficult is it to specify the element which is common to the two. It may be said that the old religion of Italy and the old religion of the Teutons still survive in the two countries, though both have assumed the name of Christianity. We need not go so far as

this. But we shall be on safe ground if we adopt from these examples the great principle that in every change of religion as much as possible is carried forward from the old faith to the new. Sentiments, practices, associations, sacred places and times, are not obliterated when a nation begins to address a god with a new name. Some of these may pass over into new forms, but in the new vessels the old wine still lives.

This is a fact of which Christians, in their missionary zeal, must take account, and for which they ought to make generous allowance. It cannot be our aim in our attempts to win converts for Christ, to destroy the sentiment of patriotism in their breast, or to compel them to think that they have been conquered in soul as well as outwardly by a power across the sea. We cannot wish to make them break absolutely with the history and the traditions of the land of which they are, and are still to remain, citizens. Poor and weak and ineffective for the spread of Christianity must be the fruits of such a policy. Mean-spirited creatures must be the converts of a mission which aims at such conquests. It should be our policy, on the other hand, to represent Christ as in sympathy with the nation which we seek to win for Him, as knowing its history and its ideas and feelings, and encouraging whatever in all these can be encouraged to grow up into higher forms. In a word, the point to which this tends is that we ought to aim at converting, not individuals only, but the nation; we should not be impatient for individual conversions, but should wait patiently to see the nation, perhaps only very gradually, perhaps at first only in very small matters, yield to Christian ideas. Is not this in accordance with the words of the Saviour? "Go ye," He said, "and make disciples of all the nations"; the nation as a whole is to be addressed and challenged; the nation as a whole is to be made Christian. And the practical bearing of this is that we must aim at a national, and not an exotic, Christianity in the countries we seek to win. It must be our desire to see a native Church spring up and develop itself freely in accordance with the thoughts and feelings of the nation. We must forbear attempting to plant a Christianity which, from the rigidity of its forms or from too great elaboration in its doctrine, is likely to prove incapable of acting as the germ of a national movement. The Christianity we plant in foreign lands should be of the simplest, of the most purely human type. It is not our part to rear a structure, but to sow a seed; it is a germ, not an organism, for which we are respon-

sible. If Christianity has in it such life and vigor as we believe it has, the germ will not fail to grow, and the structure, according to the nature of the particular race in question, to make its appearance in due time. This great principle has been recognized by many of the greatest missionaries; the working out of it in detail is a matter on which we cannot now enter.

2. If comparative religion teaches any one lesson with clearness and emphasis, it is that religion always keeps step with civilization. There cannot be a lofty religion where men are sunk in outward hardships, in such a struggle for existence as savages generally are engaged in, or in overwork, or in slavery. The exceptions to this rule are many, but we so instinctively recognize them as exceptions that they prove the rule abundantly. Bad government, poverty, ignorance, the prevalence of ancient errors, brutish arrangements and habits of life, and whatever other agencies depress men and obscure their thoughts—all these are the enemies of pure religion. Even Christianity, as the preachers of the gospel, both in town and country, in our own land are well aware, can make no head where these prevail, but is obliged to press for their removal, and in a measure to wait until they are removed. In every land, therefore, the preaching of Christ has to be accompanied by efforts not aimed directly at conversion, but at the bettering of the lot of the people, and at getting them transferred from a state of depression and irritation to a state of freedom and ease. On the success of these efforts, as well as on direct preaching, does the extension of Christianity depend.

In many cases these efforts might seem to lie outside the province of the Christian missionary. But many great missionaries have felt that it was their duty to befriend the people they were sent to evangelize, in every possible way. The London Missionary Society always recognized that, in sending the gospel to peoples of low civilization, it was necessary to send not only the word, but the arts and arrangements of Christian life, so that the savages might not only hear Christ's gospel, but be trained practically in His ways. The mission sent to a South Sea island consisted of a complete Christian village. The minister was at the head, but his wife went with him, so that the islanders saw the family as Christianity has made it; and besides the minister and his wife, went the doctor, the teacher, and, further, a representative of each of the principal industries, a joiner, a smith, a tailor, and so on. The heathen

were to see all that Christianity has made of human life; they were to learn a better social arrangement; they were to receive education; they were to wear clothes; they were to make acquaintance with the arts of Europe; in these ways they were to be lifted up to a higher level of human life. In the new outlook they thus received into higher possibilities, they would be disposed to think that a better religion also should be adopted than that associated with their former habits. The same principle, that to Christianize we must civilize, is practically followed in every part of the mission field, though in some more thoroughly and consistently than in others. Missions to backward races, as in South Africa and in Melanesia, are of an industrial character; missions to countries of old civilization, such as India and China, are partly educational. It is to be hoped that no fanatical outcry for the pure gospel alone, and for more conversions, will be allowed to lead to any reversal of this policy. Conversions of individuals are of slight value except as symptoms of the impression made on the general mind of the people addressed. It is the nation we aim at converting, and we can well afford to wait, though there are very few conversions, if the mind of the nation is being educated and placed in a position to judge truly, when the time comes, on the question of religion. What the Spirit of Christ bids us seek to do for India, to take that great example, is not to insist that Hindus shall at once accept baptism, but to aid the mind of India to attain to a position of freedom; so that, released from the ancient superstitions of his land, and trained to compare and judge for himself, the Hindu may, when the hour comes, see with his own eyes what is true and what is false in various religions, and desire to have a true religion of his own. This, Christian feeling, as well as every scientific consideration, tells us is what we ought to do for India; even though it does not seem to be the direct way to bring the Hindu to the gospel, yet, if we have faith in our own religion, we must be sure that it is the only satisfactory and only certain way to bring him to it in the end.

In the latter part of Isaiah the Jewish nation is addressed as God's missionary to the world. "Thou shalt call a nation which thou knewest not:" so the chosen people is addressed; "and nations which knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel, for He hath glorified thee." It is still true that the nation is God's missionary to other nations. The permanent spread of a religion on a large scale—let us take this as

our last lesson from the science of religion—often takes place less by propaganda than by filtration. When two races are brought in contact with each other, what is best in each passes over to the other, not all at once, but in the end permanently; and often not by direct efforts to that end, but by a process as quiet as it is inevitable. A religion spreads not only by preaching, but by the communication of the knowledge and culture which have grown up under its influence, by the manifold contact of commerce, by the weight of the character of those who profess it. No small part, therefore, of what we are called to do for the Christianizing of the world must be done at home. We have to see that the religion practised by our nation is one thoroughly worthy and fitted to extend its influence through these channels. If our nation is truly Christian, then we may be of good cheer in our missionary enterprise, and may be sure that a thousand influences, which we can neither control nor measure, are seconding our efforts.

THE REFORMATION IN ITALY.

ANOTHER PASTOR FOR COUNT CAMPELLO'S
MOVEMENT.

BY THE REV. ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, D.D.,
VENICE.

From *The Rock* (London), March 1, 1895.

IF Christian people in England only realized what the Papal Church in Italy is, and what the Reformed Catholic Church of Italy is, I am persuaded that not only would there be no sympathy shown for the former, but very much sympathy would be shown for the latter, and very much help extended to it. Italian Christians cannot remain in the one, and they are seeking refuge and help in the other.

Without giving my own opinion of the Papal Church at all, let me quote a few statements made, for the most part in public, by eminent Italians who are nominally within its pale. To begin with, the Premier, Signor Crispi, when talking lately to a journalist on the relation of the Papal Church to France, said: "The Christian Church was democratic, but the Catholic Church is not, nor ever can be. Some day perhaps Christianity will kill Catholicism." Here we have Signor Crispi not only not confounding Christianity with the Papacy, but placing them in antagonistic camps, and expressing his hope that one day Christianity will kill the Papacy. Signor Bovio, a member of the House of Deputies, a short time ago

described the Papal Church as "a rotten bough on the tree of Christianity." "There may be," he further said, "a revival of Christianity in Italy, but in that revival the Papal Church can have no part." In his booklet, "Christ at the Feast of Purim," he represents Judas saying to Mary Magdalene, who was extolling the disinterested spirituality of the religion of Jesus, "Yes; but it, too, will become changed in the hands of degenerate men, and the time will come when if Jesus Christ appeared at the gate of His Vicar the command given would be, 'Turn that idle man away, my kingdom is of this world.'" Signor Mariamo, a Naples professor and a member of the House of Deputies, said in a public speech: "The Church of Rome seems to me to be the antithesis of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; for whilst it tells me that my salvation depends on having certain services performed for me by the priest, which are independent altogether of my character and life, Jesus Christ tells me that I am saved by a mystical change of heart, wrought in me by faith in Himself through the power of the Holy Ghost." I might quote from other speakers and writers, but these representative Italians speak for their countrymen when they thus assert that the Papal Church has ceased to be a Christian Church. And it is this Christlessness, this absence of all vital religion and faith from it, that, combined with other things, has driven twenty of the thirty-odd millions of Italy's inhabitants outside its pale.

On the other hand, the Reformed Catholic Church (Count Campello's) puts in the forefront of its banner, "I am content to know nothing among you, but Jesus Christ and Him crucified," renouncing all mariolatry, all saint worship, all making a *bottega* (shop) of the church, all dependence on the performance of rites and ceremonies as ends in themselves that secure salvation. At the same time, and just because of this, it claims to be the true representative of the primitive Catholic Christian Church of Italy. It claims the use of the church buildings in Italy, it claims the ecclesiastical *beni* of the State, it claims to have restored the ancient Christian ritual, and Episcopal democratic government, and it claims to be the National Church, as reconciling true Christianity and true Italian patriotism. And it is because this Reform Church is proving itself to be what it claims to be, that, as Signor Bonghi said in the "*Nuova Antologia*," "Wherever it goes it never meets with any opposition; on the contrary, it is accepted by the authorities and the people."

These two characteristics of these two churches, the Christlessness of the one, and the Christlife of the other, find illustration in the life of Signor Bruno Bruni, who is the latest addition to the pastorate of the Reform Church. Signor Bruno Bruni was born in July, 1861, at Arzignano, a small village near Vicenza. His parents were in a good position in life, and were consistent, but not bigoted, Roman Catholics. From his earlier years Signor Bruni felt a desire to enter the Church, and so in 1872, when he was eleven years of age, he entered the Papal Seminary of Vicenza. Here he remained seven years, and passed through the minor orders of the Church, until he reached that of an acolyte. During this period he developed, what he himself has called, "puritan tendencies." External rites did not satisfy him. He felt that the Gospel was more than such things. He began to see that salvation was the free gift of God, and that man could not work it out for himself. He began to adopt, to quote again from a letter to myself, "a more Christian mode of speaking." For this he was "admonished by his teachers, and reproved by the Vicar-General of the Bishop." By and by, on his showing warm sympathy with the Reformers of England, Germany, and Italy, reproof became persecution, and the inevitable step had to be taken. In 1879, being then 18 years old, he discarded the priestly garb, and left the Papal Seminary. From the class-rooms of the Papal Seminary he passed to those of the Government College, which building rises almost within sight of the other. Here he remained two years, qualifying himself to become a Government teacher, whilst at the same time never relinquishing the hope that he might one day return to the Church, and "serve God in the Gospel of His Son." He taught for five years, first in Este, then in Vicenza, and lastly in Venice. Whilst in this last-named city he became a great friend of the late Patriarch, Cardinal Agostino, and to him he poured out all his heart. The Patriarch showed him much sympathy, and in spite of his Protestant tendencies arranged that he should re-enter priestly orders at the Papal Seminary of Venice. The date fixed for his being received was November 4, 1886. But before that day arrived God had solved his difficulty in another way.

On a Sunday morning, about the middle of September, he was passing the Evangelical Church of Santa Margherita, when he felt an irresistible impulse to enter. He yielded to it. Service was going on. The passage being expounded was in Hebrews x. 14-18, "For by one offering he hath

perfected for ever them that are sanctified . . . there is no more offering for sin." Signor Bruni says: "My eyes were opened. I saw that one unrenowable sacrifice had been made for sin, and here was I trying to make myself a priest, so that I might renew that sacrifice every morning. My heart was converted to Christ as my personal Saviour. Thus illumined, I turned my back on Babylon. I ran at once to the Patriarch to tell him that I did indeed wish to be a priest, but it must be according to the Gospel, so as to be able to teach my fellow-men the way of applying to themselves the great unrenowable sacrifice which Jesus had offered once for all." The Patriarch embraced him, and said, weeping, that he had been deceived by the Protestants. He invited him, however, not to cease his visits. One day the Patriarch said, "I am sorry you have left the light for the darkness." "No," said Signor Bruni, "it is you who are in darkness, and I want you to come out into the glorious light of the Gospel. Cardinal Agostino always remained friendly to Signor Bruni, but the lesser functionaries of St. Mark's did not. They went to the Rector of his college, and told him that he had a heretic as one of his professors, and that he must put him away. The Rector, who was a good liberal priest, talked to Signor Bruni, and said that, though in many things he agreed with him, yet for peace sake he begged him to conform to the practices of the Church. Signor Bruni refused, and the Rector left him to follow his conscience. But the Curia would not do so, and as it could only strike him through the Rector, it suspended him *a divinis*. Signor Bruni then, to spare his aged friend, resigned his position.

He instantly began to make known to others what he himself had found in Christ, and he began with home and friends. He went to Arzignano, his native village, and talked of Christ to his father, mother, and sisters. He was the first Christian evangelist who had ever set foot in the place. The priests took alarm. They represented him as having become possessed, just as their predecessors in formality had represented Christ to be. They urged his parents to turn him out of the house, and they obeyed. He went about from place to place preaching the Gospel, often not knowing where he was to find a meal or a bed. He was insulted and persecuted, and once shot at. He passed over a week in a hayloft. His place of hiding could only be reached by the aid of a long ladder, and this he drew up into the loft after ascending. He had staunch friends, even at this time, however, for re-

cently an evangelist told me the difficulty he had in discovering his whereabouts. The owner of the loft plied him with all kinds of questions before he would disclose his hiding-place, to make sure he was not bent on mischief. At last Bruni was assaulted in the highway, near Arzignano, and that was the end of the persecution. Persecutors are ever cowards. Those who had assaulted him were quickly apprehended, and lodged in prison. When their trial came on, Signor Bruni himself became their advocate, and pleaded that they might be let off, as they had been urged by the priests to attack him. The magistrate told him that the assault did not touch him alone, but also the civil rights and liberties of all Italians. The criminals were sent to prison, and a fine of 1000 francs (40*l.*) imposed besides. There was no more persecution, and Signor Bruni's secret friends became his open ones. With the 1000 francs which the magistrate gave to him he built a hall, and so what was meant to hinder "only fell out rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel." Among his first converts were his own father and mother and sisters.

Since then Signor Bruni has had some experience in evangelistic work at Milan, Venice and Dovadola. I can speak personally of the efficiency of his preaching and ministerial work in Venice. He was most zealous and industrious. He visited the workmen at the Arsenal; he visited the soldiers in their barracks; he visited the students at the Papal Seminary. His congregation grew in numbers and in knowledge and spirituality. After studying the adaptability of the different evangelical churches in Italy, and after making trial of at least one of them, as the Rev. Ugo Janni, of San Remo, had done, he has resolved to carry on the work of the ministry in connection with the Reformed Catholic Italian Church, as being the one whose ritual and government best suits his own ideals, and is, in his opinion, best suited to the traditions and genius of the Italian nation.

I end by repeating what I said at the beginning of this paper, if Christian people in England only realized what the Papal Church in Italy is, and what the Reform Catholic Church of Italy is, they would have no sympathy for the former, and they would most deeply sympathize with and help the latter.

[In hopes that our readers' sympathy will take a tangible form, we add that Miss Mayor, Hon. Secretary to the Italian Reformed Church Association, Rockhills, Bournemouth, will gratefully receive any offerings for the Lord's work in Italy.—ED.]

THE BAPTIST'S MESSAGE TO JESUS.

MATT. XI. 2-19; LUKE VII. 18-35.

BY MARCUS DODS.

From *The Expositor* (London), March, 1895.

THE impression which the unbiassed reader would naturally receive from these narratives undoubtedly is that the Baptist, whose function it had been to identify and proclaim the Messiah, was now doubtful of the identification he had authorized. The difficulty of understanding how such a change of mental attitude could arise is forcibly stated by Strauss: "Such a doubt is in direct contradiction with all the other circumstances reported by the evangelists. It is justly regarded as psychologically impossible that he whose belief was originated or confirmed by the baptismal sign, which he held to be a divine revelation, and who afterwards pronounced so decidedly on the Messianic call and the superior nature of Jesus, should all at once have become unsteady in his conviction; he must then indeed have been like a reed shaken by the wind, a comparison which Jesus abnegates on this very occasion (Matt. xi. 7). A cause for such vacillation is in vain sought in the conduct or fortunes of Jesus at the time; for the rumor of the *works of Christ*, which in Luke's idea were miracles, could not awaken doubt in the Baptist, and it was on this rumor that he sent his message. Lastly, how could Jesus subsequently (John v. 33 ff.) so confidently appeal to the testimony of the Baptist concerning Him, when it was known that John himself was perplexed about His Messiahship?"

The difficulty is genuine and all honest interpreters have acknowledged it, while some have sought escape from it by illegitimate methods. Chrysostom and Euthymius among patristic interpreters, and Calvin and Beza among the reformers, emphatically assert that it was not to dissipate doubts of His own but to convince His disciples that John sent them to Jesus. He believed that when they saw the works He was doing they would accept Him as the Christ. This construction of the incident, however, is precluded by the fact that it was the disciples of John who had already themselves reported to him the miracles of Jesus, and there is no hint given that they shared the doubt of their master. The answer of Jesus is also pointedly addressed to John (Matt. xi. 22), and they are instructed to say to him, "Blessed is he who-soever shall not be offended in Me"—words which imply that John was in danger of misconstruing Jesus. The same conclusion is put beyond question by the apology for John

which Jesus considers it necessary to make to the people. This apology proceeds on the idea that occasion had been given to doubt whether John was so steadfast and prophetic a man as had been commonly believed.

Several recent commentators, such as Fritzsche, Hase and others, have supposed that the intention of the Baptist was to quicken within Jesus the Messianic consciousness, to remind Him of the expectations of those who believed in Him, and provoke Him to the definite assumption of kingly powers. So far from unbelief was John, that it was the very certainty of Jesus' Messiahship that prompted the question. This is nearer the truth. It brings out the impatience which John felt, but it fails to emphasize the doubt.

Accepting the question, then, in its obvious and natural sense as implying a doubt in the Baptist's mind regarding the identification of Jesus as the Christ, how is this doubt to be accounted for? In both narratives it is directly connected with the reports of the miracles of Jesus which had been brought to John in prison. Strauss thinks quite an opposite result might have been expected from such a report, and jeeringly remarks: "This is opposed to all psychological probability, that I wonder Dr. Paulus, or some other expositor versed in psychology and not timid in verbal criticism, has not started the conjecture that a negative has slipped out of Matt. xi. 2, and that its proper reading is *ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης οὐκ ἀκούσας κ.τ.λ.*"

Notwithstanding these supposed psychological impossibilities which Strauss discovered in the narrative, it must still be maintained with the best recent expositors, that it was precisely these miracles of Jesus, reported to the Baptist in prison, which provoked him to send his embassy to Jesus. John was disappointed in Jesus because these works of His were not the kind of works he had expected the Messiah to perform. He himself "did no miracle"; he had preached repentance and prepared the people for their King. He had come in the spirit of Elias denouncing prevalent iniquity and he had heralded one who was to come in the same spirit but with a mightier manifestation of it. He had shared in the popular expectation that the Messiah would reign visibly in Israel, and he could not understand why, if Jesus was the Messiah, He refrained from establishing the Messianic kingdom, and contented Himself with healing a few sick folk and preaching, not to the authorities and men in high places, but to the poor. This beneficent, non-aggressive, quiet, genial ministry irritated him.

It was not, then, that the personal misfortunes of the Baptist were clouding his faith; it was not that the hard fare of the prison was blotting out his bright expectations. Against such an interpretation of John's state of mind Jesus emphatically warned the people, reminding them that it was no reed bending now to one wind now to the opposite, they had seen in the wilderness. The man whom they had seen content with a camel's hair garment, and such food as he could gather from uncultivated nature was not likely to feel so keenly the change to prison fare. But no doubt the prison would have its own effect upon him. Day after day, month after month, passed as he lay with his blazing energies pent up, and still there reached him not the shout of a nation proclaiming its king, but the same monotonous tidings of a few lepers cleansed, a few blind beggars restored to sight. He had waited to feel the shock of revolution shake the solid walls of the remote fortress where he lay; let its ruins bury him; if only he knows that God has remembered His people, he will die in triumph. But as when one listens in the dead of night till the ear aches with the silence, so did John wait till his heart grew sick with watching. What could it mean? He had learned how quickly a man must do his work if he is to do it at all. He had learned how short a time would be given to any one who was resolved to root out evil from the land. Why, then, this delay on the part of Jesus? Why did He not complete the work John had begun by denouncing the wickedness of Herod? Why was He content to go about in villages, talking with unimportant sinners, dining at rich men's tables, helping a few sick women and crippled beggars, while the nation cried out for its King?

With such feelings preying on his mind, John sends to Jesus, saying, "Art Thou He that should come, or are we to look for another?" Had any one challenged his own former testimony, and now assured him he had been mistaken in indicating Jesus as the Messiah, he would probably have maintained His Membership as before. But in his own mind perplexities have arisen. He cannot make out why Jesus should act as He does. He cannot rid himself of the belief that Jesus is the Messiah, but he cannot reconcile that belief with the behavior of Jesus. And the miracles now reported to him only increase his perplexity; for, if this almighty power resides in Him, why does He not use it to sweep away iniquity and revolutionize the nation?

This state of mind can be pronounced

psychologically impossible, only by those who fancy that the conviction wrought in John's mind at the baptism of Jesus, precluded his subsequent consideration of the evidence that came before him—a supposition which implies that a continual miracle was wrought on the mind of the Baptist, and that he was a mere mechanical official with no personal spiritual conflict and no trial of his faith. With all his countrymen he had to rise to new conceptions of the kingdom, and this was the path by which he had to travel to those new conceptions. He appeals to Jesus Himself, knowing that He alone comprehended the situation. The authorities had mistaken the Baptist himself for the Christ: Jesus would make no mistake.

From this revelation of an unexpected perplexity in the mind of the prominent witness to the Messiahship of Jesus many reflections arise. We see how entirely Jesus stood alone, how misleading was the counsel, and how fatal the aid He could receive even from such a man as John. We cannot overestimate the clearness of aim and stability of purpose, which with so much apparent ease, though doubtless with some unseen mental conflict, put aside not only the popular expectation but the grave judgments and suggestions of a man like John. It also becomes apparent that even good, wise, and strong men are tempted to think God is doing nothing if He is not using them. If a religious movement goes on without us, we at once begin to view it critically and with suspicion.

John's mistake is common still. Men can never reconcile themselves to Christ's method. His work seems so slow; one is tempted to say, so inefficient and careless; it disappoints in so many ways the expectations of practical men. He seems so tardy in making any definitely marked impression on the world that a large number of persons use their own methods for reforming society and leave Him to His work. If He actually sat as King in our midst, legislating for us and administering justice and redressing all grievances, we should not be offended in Him. But things go on so much as if no power in heaven or on earth were His, His help comes so ambiguously, His interference is so indirect, that in times of great stress and need, many are tempted to ask with John, half in doubt, half in challenge, whether this is the final and best rule of mankind?

Is it not precisely John's difficulty which is at present hindering many of the most earnest men in the working classes from

believing in Christ. His methods bring no immediate revolution, no upturning of social order, no instant setting right of all that is wrong. He claims to be King, and to have a special regard for the oppressed, yet generation after generation of the oppressed pass away, and He gives no sign. It is this which causes many to turn from Him in disappointment and look for "another," generally a hasty demagogue, and it is this which causes many to hate and blaspheme His name.

John's state of mind being apprehended, the answer of Jesus becomes at once intelligible. Virtually Jesus says to the Baptist, I have chosen My method of action. These are the works by which I vindicate my claim to the Messiahship. All that you now urge has been urged before, and I have put it aside as a temptation inviting Me to deflect from the proper work of the Messiah. The Gospel is preached to the poor because the influence I seek is not that of fashion, or money, or power, but a spiritual human influence. It is through the individual I work, and by individual attraction I form the kingdom. The ills common to humanity, permanent and universal, concern Me more than the grievances of the Jewish people. The kingdom I am founding is spiritual and universal: hence My method. And, "blessed is he whosoever is not offended in Me."

Jesus here shows in what spirit he meets honest and serious-minded doubt. He knew that beneath that question of John's which so shocked the bystanders there was a heart more capable of loyalty to Him than was to be found in any of those who gave their easy assent to claims they scarcely understood. That question was of more value to Him than the unreasoning hosannas of thoughtless followers; for through it he saw a man in earnest and to whom the answer was of immeasurable consequence. It is when a man takes the Messiahship of Jesus seriously and proposes to make the mind of Christ rule all that He Himself is connected with, that he begins to question whether this or that method or principle of Christ can be approved. It is through such doubt and such perplexity ultimate faith and true allegiance are reached.

After dismissing the messengers of John, Jesus seeks to improve the occasion to the people. And He aims chiefly at two things: at clearing the character of John from the suspicion of fickleness and weakness which might have arisen from his message; and at suggesting to the people that while John did not cordially approve the methods of Jesus,

it was possible that they themselves approved of the methods neither of John nor of Jesus.

In the course of His address to the people He somewhat abruptly introduces the words: "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." In Luke xvi. 16 in a different connection similar words are used. "The law and the prophets were until John; since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseseth into it," where the same word expressive of violent seizure is retained, having fixed itself in the memory. The interpretation of this saying which is most commonly received is that which Alford gives: "The kingdom of heaven is pressed into (or taken by storm) and violent persons (stormers)—eager, ardent multitudes—seize on it" (as on the plunder of a sacked city). This interpretation is inviting. It seems to suit the context. Until John the kingdom was predicted, "all the prophets until John prophesied"; but when John came, he could say, The kingdom is at hand; the time is fulfilled. The prophet's occupation was gone; John could say, The King is standing in your midst. The change was as that from the leadership of Moses to that of Joshua. Moses could but see the land afar off from the mountain top; Joshua took the kingdom by storm.

And this interpretation carries great truths. It is men of earnestness who fight their way into the Kingdom. As Christian, in Bunyan's *Pilgrim*, saw many men in armor keeping the doorway and terrifying all comers, until a man of stout countenance came, and said to him at the gate, "Set down my name, sir!" and forthwith hewed his way into the palace, giving and taking many wounds, so is it with the kingdom. And also, as in all times of revolution and violent excitement, so in the founding of Christ's kingdom, it was not the orderly procession of a coronation day that was visible, but rather the rush of a storming party. In a rush through a breach it is every man for himself, and often it is the wild, undisciplined private who finds himself first within the enemy's rampart. Strange people come to the front when it is on each man's native courage, resource and earnestness success depends. And in great religious movements it is not the martinet or the man who shows best on parade who is always first in the breach. There may be much to shock persons who worship decorum. In critical times, when appeal is made to the elementary forces of humanity,

men of violence come to the front, men of the Luther type, who shock and enrage scholars and men of taste like Erasmus, do the requisite storming. And so the Pharisees were sincerely shocked to see the kind of following the Messiah had gathered round Him—a following which seemed to them no better than the troop of desperadoes and gladiators who were told off as a forlorn hope to mount a breach. Among them there was nothing orderly and decorous, no praying at appointed hours, no fasting, no recital of tradition, nothing which had become identified with religion in the respectable Pharisaic mind.

This interpretation is tempting, but there are difficulties in the way of accepting it. Was there any such pressure into the kingdom as is thus implied? And even though there were, would not the language be unduly strong—"Taking by force," "snatching"? This strong language tallies much better with another interpretation—indeed, suggests it. For such language is actually used, in John vi. 15, of the attempt of the people to make Jesus a King. It is obvious, therefore, to suppose that what Jesus meant by the kingdom "being done violence to," is that the people, excited by the Baptist's preaching, sought forcibly to establish the kingdom he had proclaimed; precisely as the Galileans had sought to take Him by force and make Him a King. And hence the relevancy of introducing the sentence into His apology for the Baptist. For the Baptist also had apparently taken offence at, or been stumbled by, the gentle and quiet methods of Jesus, and he, too, wished to take the kingdom by violence. This saying of Jesus, then, is but another way of calling attention to the fact that His kingdom is spiritual, that it cannot be taken by storm, or established by swift and violent methods, but that it belongs to the meek, to those who, with greater earnestness than the violent, believe in spiritual methods, and can patiently wait till these methods prevail.

The point of the little parable with which the section closes is obvious. Neither John nor Jesus was such a leader as the people desired. They were not sufficiently interested in the spiritual movements of their time to approve of either the severe or the genial reformer. They had adopted the fatal critical attitude: the attitude of unconcerned spectators and judges. John, they said, overtaxed their strength and demanded a purity of life which seemed easy to him but was impossible to them. Jesus was even more unsuitable. In Him indeed there was no asceticism that they could see; He came

eating and drinking, sociable, free from care, living a cheerful life among the common people. But when they besought Him to resist the oppressor, He went and paid His taxes, and when they would have made Him a king He hid Himself from them. He seemed to ignore the national sorrows. He would not interfere; not even when His relative was basely thrown into a dungeon would He head a rescue. Nay, He would actually accept the hospitality of a publican. What could be made of such a person? The Messiah indeed! He was a mere good-natured time-server, indifferent to the sorrows of His people so long as He could dine well; "a gluttonous man and a winebibber." They had mourned to Jesus, but He had not joined in their lamentations; they had piped to the ascetic and grim Baptist, but not a step would he dance.

Those to whom our Lord spoke must have seen how exactly this parable hit off their attitude towards the two great forms in which God had been revealed to them in their own day. In the persons of John and Jesus religion and the will of God had taken definite shape before them. But the people approved of neither. They were like petted children who think every one should fall in with their whim, dancing when they pipe and pretending to cry when they whimper or strike them. To some people no religious movement of their time quite responds. They live at feud with their generation because they cannot get their own whim petted. The great movements of their time pass on as if they heard them not. They feel themselves ill-used. They have fallen on evil days and spend their time sulking and grumbling. They are the only survivors of the good old times and accept it as their mission to bewail the degeneracy of the Church. In fact they are only spoiled children sitting in the market-place, much in the way of practical men, and piping their little monotonous tune, wondering that no one listens to them.

Certainly John and Jesus represented opposite poles of human life, and that man had no ordinary breadth of view who could perceive that far from being antagonistic they were forwarding one great movement. Frequently, men of limited vision and narrow spiritual experience fail to see the inner harmony of movements which are superficially diverse. Sometimes they count those the enemies of religion who are indeed its truest friends. They do not recognize how many varieties of type it takes to make a world. And as men could plausibly de-

nounce Jesus as undoing the work of John, so does the truest progress often seem mere demolition of what many have found to be for their soul's health. By hastiness of judgment and self-satisfied condemnation of all that does not at once commend itself to our preconceived ideas of how God will accomplish His work, we are found to be resisting God and mistaking good for evil. To make our own tastes and expectations the measure of the religious movements of our time is to secure that we get no good from the movements that engage the activities of other people and that we get all the harm, the self-righteous vanity and hardness of heart and blindness to the truth, which must result from opposing the work of God in our own generation. Triflers, playing at religion, may criticise all movements and support none: men will take care that their devoted support be given to one form or other of the work of God in their own time.

THE DEAD LEADER OF ENGLISH CONGREGATIONALISM.

BY REV. RUEN THOMAS, D.D.

From *The Congregationalist* (Boston), March 21, 1895.

THE death of Dr. R. W. Dale, of Birmingham, Eng., is a loss of no ordinary magnitude to the Christian Church at large, especially so to the Congregational churches of England. The place assigned him, by the unanimous consent of his brethren, as moderator of the International Council of 1891, indicated the position he held in their appreciation. There were honored and beloved men who had given even longer service than he had to the churches, men who would have adorned that or any position in which their brethren should place them; but there was no man who could so robustly and so completely represent all that was strongest in intellect, most thorough in scholarship and most fervent in piety as could Dr. R. W. Dale. He had attained to leadership, that kind of leadership which alone is possible among Congregational churches—*primus inter pares*—solely by the massiveness of his cultured manhood.

From his student days in Spring Hill College he had been recognized as a man of great intellectual ability, but that alone would not have qualified him to occupy the position among his brethren and in the churches generally to which he attained. His scholarship was varied and thorough, especially in those departments covered by

the words philosophical and theological. At the head of any college he would have been an inspiration. Scholarship added to natural ability is not enough to account for the peculiarly influential position which Dr. Dale held. He had convictions, and the courage of his convictions. His convictions were the results of a fervent piety which showed itself in all his sympathies and in all his utterances, but also of an honesty in investigation, a freedom from prejudice in thinking and inquiry which left him when he had passed through it in a position into which he could throw the whole force of his manhood. Consequently there was nothing limping or hesitating about his speech. It was "logic on fire."

About his preaching there was something so manly and forceful that it won to itself the attention of the best intellects in the city of Birmingham, where for forty years he has ministered to its largest congregation. Natural ability, thorough scholarship, persistent culture, fervent piety, the ability of profound conviction, honest manliness—these together made Dr. Dale what he was, and gave to him that influence in the Congregational churches of England which has been steadily growing from year to year and was never so powerful as in these last years of his life.

There is no room for speculativeness as to the trend of the theological thought in the teaching of Dr. Dale. We have his books. They contain that which he preached, and oftentimes in the form in which he preached it. Early in life he seems to have been convinced of the soundness of the leading evangelical positions. But that conviction did not stop investigation. In all his books there are evidences that he read men of all schools of theological and philosophical thought.

Some persons would be inclined to say that he did not sufficiently appreciate at their true value some of the suggestions of the more mystical school of thinkers, that while he was a scientific botanist and geologist he was not sufficiently mindful of the value of the clouds which floated around and watered our earth. It may be that such a criticism has more to support it in Dr. Dale's earlier than in his later books. That his mind was more logical than poetical must, I think, be granted. Still it would be misleading to assume that he did not perceive the celestial light in which were living men whose intellectual apprehension was different from his own.

Every great theologian has been in spirit a great poet. Of poetical form he may not be capable. But as every prophet has been

a poet, endowed with the ability in more than an ordinary degree of bringing the distant near and of making the invisible to sight visible to mind, so something of the same endowment is necessary to every great theologian and to every great preacher.

If Dr. Dale has introduced no new idea into theology, he has certainly taken the old ideas and so presented them that to many persons they have seemed "as good as new." He has virtually said to his age: "These old doctrines contain more than you see. Let us investigate them afresh."

The result has been that men who have willingly gone with him a mile have (willingly or unwillingly) gone with him twain. His theological value to his generation has been in the direction of securing a more profound and spiritual appreciation of those evangelical doctrines which, because of unscholarly and inadequate presentation, were, for younger minds, becoming "old-fashioned" and unimportant. His book on *The Atonement*, which has reached already a fourteenth edition, had a distinct influence in modifying a disposition which was everywhere manifest to assume that our evangelical Christianity was hindered in its advance by the form and weight of the Jewish clothing it had to wear.

Other great evangelical doctrines might be taken, and on analysis of his work it would be evident that he had so restated what are called "old truths" that they again became, not only thinkable to cultured minds, but the opposite of them began to appear even defective and shallow. All his work was doctrinal and ethical. In his hands the ethical quality of doctrine became evident. It is necessary only to recall his principal works to be convinced how true this is. *The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church*, *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, *Fellowship with Christ*, *Christian Doctrine*—these, in addition to the volume already mentioned on *The Atonement*, are of the nature of doctrinal expositions. But they are of so high an order as to take rank with theological treatises.

When it is recognized that these volumes were, for the most part, preached to his congregation, two facts come into sight—the intelligence of the congregation and the power of the preacher. Other volumes bring Dr. Dale before us as one of the most accomplished ethical preachers of this generation. *The Ten Commandments*, *Laws of Christ for Common Life*, *Week-day Sermons*—these give us specimens of his best work along this line.

His doctrinal and ethical preaching had, seemingly directing it, his own conscious-

ness that the generation to which he belonged was, as he puts it in an address on the work of the Christian ministry, in "a period of theological decay and transition." Along the path which he seems to have deliberately chosen at the beginning of his ministry, and to which he has faithfully adhered, probably no one has served his generation better.

As a preacher Dr. Dale was exceedingly effective. He paid his congregations the highest possible compliment in assuming that they were capable of receiving what he was capable of producing. For mere sensationalism he had no tolerance. Once he remarked about a volume of sensational sermons published, though not preached, in England: "I question whether in all our churches in England there is a congregation which would listen to these sermons." Dr. Dale's own idea of a sermon was so high that he seemed to be in entire accord with Professor Phelps' suggestion that "a preacher has no right to do a weak or little thing"; and again: "There is a certain dignity of mental process below which the pulpit ought never to fall because of its alliance with the working of the Holy Spirit."

As may be inferred from his Lectures on Preaching at Yale, Dr. Dale belonged to that class of preachers in which we must put Dr. Henry Allon, Dr. Enoch Mellor, Dr. Alexander Raleigh, Canon Liddon, Dean Church, Canon Farrar and others. They are not "missioners" nor "evangelists," in the modern (and incorrect) use of that word. Their work is lasting because it is addressed to the whole man. The London *Quarterly Review* has said: "Dr. Dale is, for the combination of high qualities, perhaps the greatest of living preachers." There was, along with the massive intellect, which in the careful preparation seemed to sit in judgment on every word, a subdued emotionalism, always there, but never supreme. The deliberateness of its utterance suited the thought and literary style admirably, so that at the time one was unconscious of the chaste splendor of his composition and the weight of his thought. But he brought men into communion with himself and mastered them.

The sermon I heard from him last summer seemed to me, in all its features, everything a sermon should be. The contrast between the mental vigor and the physical weakness created the impression of a man helped by some power not his own. He told me at the close of the service that he had had a most distressed night, gasping for breath. His great force had become

wreathed in tenderness. A new pathos had come into the voice that made the delivery perfect. There was something musical in his tones. It was like no other voice I ever heard.

In person Dr. Dale was above middle height, and, till within a few years, of fine, robust figure. In complexion he was very dark. As a public man, and in every way, he was a prodigious worker. Pastor of one church for forty years, occasionally leaving it on missions to America and Australia with the heavy responsibilities which belong to leadership in a denomination which has had much testimony to give and many educational and ecclesiastical battles to fight, if length of life is to be measured by fulness of life, his has indeed been a long and glorious life. His books are so well done that they are sure to live on, and so "he being dead yet speaketh."

It would take up too much space to try to give any impression of Dr. Dale's unique influence in the educational and political life of his time. Joseph Chamberlain excepted, no one has done more to lift the life of Birmingham onto a higher level of municipal efficiency. In that city the names of Charles Vince, George Dawson and Robert William Dale, the three men who gave to the word "citizenship" a higher meaning than ever it had before, will be had in everlasting remembrance. No man in all Birmingham will be so universally mourned by all ranks and classes of citizens as this man, whose religious devoutness, so far from being ascetic, seemed to make him only more ardently the best illustration which Birmingham could show of unselfish zeal in all the duties of public life. To him as much as to any man is owing the fact that Birmingham enjoys to-day the proud distinction of being "the best governed city in the world."

THE ESSENCE OF BUDDHISM.

BY PROF. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, PH.D., LL.D.,
OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

From *The Independent* (New York), March 21, 1895.

[The following is an abstract from the lectures delivered by Prof. Rhys Davids in his late course at Columbia College.]

AMONG the ancient remains in India, one of the most famous is the Cave of Ajanta, where the Buddhists have hollowed out of the solid rock a series of lecture halls and dwelling places, ornamented with elaborate carvings and paintings. Among these very ancient frescoes is one representing the Buddhist Wheel of Life, which Gautama is said to have thought out on the day of his

Enlightenment. This enigmatic and difficult formula is not intelligible without a previous explanation of the principles which underlie it. The first of these is the doctrine that there is nothing—either divine or human, either animal, vegetable or mineral, which is permanent. There is no Being, there is only a Becoming. The state of an individual, that is, of a thing or person, distinct from its surroundings, bounded off from them, is unstable, temporary, sure to pass away. No sooner is separateness, individuality, begun, than dissolution, disintegration, also begins. This doctrine is held also in the West with regard to all inorganic substances, and also with regard to living organisms; but in the West there is a belief in spirits inside of our bodies, and in other spirits, good and evil, outside of ourselves; and to these spirits people in the West attribute an individuality without change, a *being* without *becoming*, a beginning without an end. The Buddhists had inherited a similar belief, but they discarded it as being inconsistent with the great doctrine of impermanence.

The next principle is the principle of sorrow. Sorrow, in Buddhism, is said to be always due to the effort which an individual has to make to keep up its separateness. Wherever an individual has once become separate from the rest of existence, then immediately disease, decay and death begin to act upon it. Wherever there is individuality, there must be, of course, limitation; wherever there is limitation, there must be ignorance; wherever there is ignorance, there must be error; wherever there is error, there must sorrow come.

It will be seen that individuality is not denied. The quarrel of the Buddhist teachers is against certain delusions that men have about individuality. They think that it is impossible that an individual should be separate and, at the same time, free from impermanence and free from sorrow. They also think that each individual is not only separate from the things that surround it during its life, but also from other things and persons in the past and in the future. They forget that an individual is really closely connected with both. A man thinks he began to be a few years—twenty, forty, sixty years—ago. There is, of course, some truth in that; but in a much larger, deeper, truer sense he has been in the causes of which he is the result for countless ages in the past; and these same causes, of which he is the temporary effect, will continue through countless ages yet to come. Buddhism sees an identity between man as he is

and these causes; but the identity is not an identity of soul which has existed in the past, and continues to exist in him. The identity is that of cause and effect—what the Buddhists call Karma—and there does not exist any such thing as a permanent, personal ego appearing in the different individuals who form the links of the chain of Karma. To have become free from these delusions about individuality is to enter upon the Path which leads to Arahatsip. The path is divided into Eight stages—right views, right aims, right speech, right conduct, right effort, right means of livelihood, right mindfulness and right rapture. In his progress along the Path there are ten fetters to be broken; and to live the Life according to the stages set out in the Path and to have broken all of these fetters constitutes the Buddhist's Ideal of Life.

The Wheel of Life, with its twelve divisions, according to the ancient fresco on the cave of Ajanta, is to be explained in the light of interpretation given by modern Tibetan and Japanese drawings. The whole picture was an attempt at expressing that which happens in every human life, and has great similarities with the notion found in early Greek poems and inscriptions, and in the speculations of the earliest Greek philosophers. While there is a plausible connection between these Greek speculations and the Indian, it is still uncertain that the Greeks borrowed from the Indians, and it is most interesting to see how, in both their schools of monism and dualism, they travelled along lines very similar to the monism and dualism of India.

The Buddhist ideal of Arahatsip is illustrated by passages both of prose and poetry, in which the Buddhist books describe that state of mind. There are many epithets of Arahatsip, all of them figurative in character; and of these is the word Nirvana, which is unfortunately used in English writings on Buddhism as the exclusive name of the Buddhist Ideal. It is really only one of many epithets, and it means, literally, going out—the going out of a lamp. It is applied ethically to the going out in the heart of man of the three fires of lust, ill-will and stupidity; and has reference only to a state of mind to be reached and enjoyed in this life.

There are thirty-seven constituent ethical divisions of this state of mind called Arahatsip. It was really a system of self-culture and self-control; based upon a constant and intellectual activity. The practical point in it was the getting rid of delusions, chiefly about individuality, and the cultivation of

high and great desires. It was accompanied with a feeling of inexpressible joy and peace, which reminds us of "the Peace that passeth all understanding," and with a sense of emancipation of heart which was very remarkable. It is not necessary to defend the accuracy, or completeness, or adequacy of the solution, put forward by Gautama, of the problem of practical ethics. What is of supreme importance is that in Western discussions of ethical questions, this most interesting system should receive its due consideration; and the friends of higher education in America should recognize the importance of finding a place in their colleges for the proper treatment of this most interesting and suggestive subject.

Buddhism started out with a complete philosophical and psychological theory, worked out by men of great intellectual power and considerable culture. It afterward spread through the great continent of Asia, and even beyond, among many peoples with inherited beliefs of their own, and very often on a much lower stage of civilization. In the course of centuries it became so modified by the national characteristics, and the inherited beliefs of its converts that it developed into strangely inconsistent, and even antagonistic beliefs and practices; but each of these breathes more or less of the spirit of the system out of which it had grown; and most interesting is it to trace the reasons which have produced out of one beginning such different results.

As Buddhism spread in India different schools arose, more especially the eighteen schools which flourished at the time of the Council of Patna, in the third century B.C. The data given in Pali books are in agree-

ment with the data derived from the travels of the Chinese pilgrims. The principal lines of development have been, first: as regards the Buddha himself. The disciples had gradually come more and more to attribute a supernatural character to the person of the Buddha, and recollecting that the Buddha must, in some previous *karma* have existed long before he was born, they attached increasing importance to that being who, in the past had carried on the *karma* which ended in the perfect life of Gautama. In each supposed previous life of the Buddha, the person who carried on this *karma* was called the *Bodisat*, and the later Buddhists gradually gave up the Ideal of Arahatsip, and put in its place the Ideal of Bodisatsip. In this way they really changed the whole conception of Buddhism, and the various Bodisats came to be worshipped as a class of saints; and even Hindu gods and the popular heroes of Indian folklore became identified with these Bodisats. In this way the original ethical teaching became swallowed up in these later superstitions, especially in Tibet, China and Japan.

Among modern developments is "Esoteric Buddhism," which is neither esoteric, nor Buddhist, but in fact inculcates a system of belief diametrically opposed to the original views of the founder of that religion. The descriptions of Buddhism as given at the recent Parliament of Religions in Chicago, differed not a little from the opinions laid down in the sacred books.

The more complete study of Buddhism, which is sure to prevail in the West eventually, cannot fail to have a considerable influence in enlarging the views of those who study it.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

CONDUCTED BY REV. CHARLES R. GILLET, LIBRARIAN OF UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

BAMPTON LECTURES.*

THE question can hardly fail to suggest itself to a thoughtful man when he reflects upon the great number of lectureships which now and for many years past have been devoted to apologetic purposes, whether, after all, the expenditure of time and money is justified by its results. If we are to judge such lectureships by the amount of conviction produced and the number of converts gained among those

who do not hold the views which the speakers advocate, it would seem that they must be confessed a sad failure. For conviction, in matters of the highest moment, such as those with which religion has to do, is never produced by argument alone, but springs from an experience which argument may indeed illuminate but cannot create. And so it is becoming more and more generally recognized that the purpose of such lectureships is not so much "to confirm and establish the Christian faith" in the hearts of those who have hitherto rejected it, as "to confute all heretics and schismatics" to the satisfaction of those

* PERSONALITY, HUMAN AND DIVINE, being the Bampton lectures for the year 1894, by J. A. ILLINGWORTH, M.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Pp. viii, 274. \$1.75.

who already accept it. Looked at from this point of view, the records of such a course of lectures as that established by the late John Bampton have the highest historical interest; for they show what, during the period covered by the course, has been the actual belief of earnest and thoughtful Christian men and what the considerations by which that belief has been supported and strengthened. But the service of such a lectureship may and should be much more than historical. For the belief of any thoughtful Christian upon the great themes of religion cannot be stated with its reasons without bringing light and comfort to many others who, out of a similar experience, have faced like problems, but who have not yet seen their way clear to any satisfactory solution. It is for this more special reason as well as for the larger historical interest that we welcome the last volume of the Bampton series by Mr. Illingworth, on "Personality, Human and Divine." The writer is a man who is in touch with modern thought at every point, and is peculiarly qualified to speak to modern men. At the same time he is a man to whom religion is the most real and precious thing in life, whose book is therefore not so much the argument of a lawyer as the testimony of one who bears witness to that which he has himself experienced.

Our business here is critical. We have to ask: What is the task which the author proposes; and how successfully does he execute it? As to the task, this is nothing less than to give a complete outline of the Christian argument in the light of modern thought. It is true that the author very modestly disclaims any novelty for his position. The lectures, he says, "are simply an attempt to arrange and summarize what has already been expressed with greater amplitude and fuller authority elsewhere." But in apologetic matters it is just the arrangement upon which everything turns. Both of facts and of arguments it is true that there is nothing new under the sun; but the proportion, the balance, the relative value is constantly changing, and it is with these that the apologist has to do.

The subject of the lectures is "Personality, Human and Divine," and the book is (1) a defence of the legitimacy of the anthropomorphic method of conceiving of God; and (2) the unfolding of the consequences which follow upon the admission of the validity of that method. It is in connection with the second part that the positive apology for the Christian religion is found,

the author attempting to show that, granting, as we must, that we can only know God as person, after the analogy of our own personality, it is only in the Christian religion that we meet this conception in satisfying and reasonable form; and that all the peculiarities of that revelation follow necessarily from the conception of God which it unfolds. The lectures are eight in number. The first two deal with the development and analysis of the conception of human personality; the third and fourth with the development and analysis of the conception of divine personality; while the last four set forth the conditions and trace the history of revelation in the light of these two fundamental conceptions.

To follow the argument a little more in detail. Our conception of personality is a gradual growth. Only little by little does man come to realize what it means to say "I." The course of this unfolding is briefly traced, the contribution of Christianity noted, and the significance of three men, Luther, Augustine and Kant, emphasized. In pp. 25 *sq.* the importance of the conception, not merely for theology but for all our knowledge, is shown. Personality is the gateway into all our knowledge. Matter, force, energy, ideas, time, space, law, freedom, cause and the like are absolutely meaningless phrases except in the light of our personal experience. In the last resort "they are only known to us through the categories of our own personality and can never be understood exhaustively till we know all that our personality implies. It follows that philosophy and science are, in the strict sense of the word, precisely as anthropomorphic as theology, since they are alike limited by the conditions of human personality, and controlled by the form of thought which human personality provides." This being the case, the analysis of the conception becomes of the highest importance. In the analysis of self-consciousness we note thought, desires and will, the last manifesting itself as freedom—the power, not indeed to act without motives, but "to create, or co-operate in creating, our own motives, or to choose our motive, or to transform a weaker motive into a stronger by adding weights to the scale of our own accord, and thus to determine our conduct by our reason" (p. 33). But will can only act upon desire, and a survey of the desires inherent in our nature proves that the most fundamental are those which compel us to communion with other persons. For desire is directed to end, and only in other persons do we find "an end in which our entire personal-

ity may rest, and this is the relationship of love" (p. 38). Thus, the constituent elements of personality as such, are "self-consciousness, the power of self-determination, and desires, which irresistibly impel us into communion with other persons; or, in other words—reason, will and love." Further, the personality in which we note these elements is a living thing, growing and developing character; a real thing, the most real that we know, and our highest criterion of reality; and finally, a spiritual thing, by which is meant something which belongs to "an order of existence which transcends the order of sensible experience, the material order; yet which, so far from excluding the material order, includes and elevates it to higher use, precisely as the chemical includes and transfigures the mechanical, or the vital the chemical order. It is thus synonymous with supernatural, in the strict sense of the term" (p. 45).

Such, then, being the conception of human personality, it follows that the conception of divine personality cannot develop any faster than the preceding development has prepared the way. The third lecture traces this development from the earliest times on Gentile and Jewish soil, down to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, which the author regards as "the most philosophical attempt to conceive of God as personal." This development is held to be reasonable and necessary, as the fourth lecture attempts to show. In the fifth lecture the question is raised why, if it be so reasonable to believe in a personal God, do so many still refuse to do so. This leads to a consideration of the conditions for knowledge of a person, which are held to be of a peculiar kind, and to involve moral affinity. Thus God cannot reveal Himself as person to any whose sense for personality is not awakened, and will not reveal Himself to any who do not desire such revelation. Bearing in mind these principles, the record of God's dealings with the race becomes natural and intelligible. We find a gradual growth in the understanding of God, conditioned on the moral insight of those to whom revelation is made. This growth the author traces in the sixth and seventh lectures, first in prehistoric times, then in Gentile and Jewish history. We do not remember to have seen elsewhere within the same space a more suggestive treatment. Finally, in the last lecture the ground is taken that in the Incarnation of God in Christ we have not only the supreme revelation of God, but also that which in the very nature of the case we should

expect. In a few closing words the author sums up the argument, and shows that the decision must be determined finally not by *a priori* arguments on the one side or the other, but by a man's trust or lack of trust in the testimony of his own spiritual nature, faith in which leads to the acceptance of the Christian conclusion.

With the general spirit and plan of the lectures we are heartily in sympathy. Christian faith depends, in the last analysis, not upon abstract arguments, but upon vital forces the strength of which is even by Christians themselves too often only half appreciated. In emphasizing this fact and making it the basis of his discussion, Mr. Illingworth has done the cause of intelligent apology a service. As he himself truly says, "What abstract logic has not created, abstract logic cannot destroy" (p. 207). It is a pleasure to read a book which discusses religious problems with the openness of mind shown by our author, and with the frank acceptance of accepted methods, both historical and psychological. It is a pleasure further to read a book which brings the distinctly Christian argument into such intimate connection with the universal grounds of religious faith. It is to be hoped that the period of what may be called apologetic dualism, in which one set of arguments is used to establish the existence of a God whom another set of arguments then proceeds to prove religiously inadequate, is almost at an end.

In what is said in criticism we desire to judge the book according to the standard which it sets for itself. The first criticism is formal. In order to carry out the author's plan, the lecture on the development of the conception of divine personality is followed by a lecture on the analysis of the same. But the reader studies the pages in vain for any such analysis. What he finds is a discussion, excellent of its kind, of the arguments for the Being of God. All that the author attempts to say in the way of analysis is to be found in the closing words of the preceding lecture. This formal defect might be lightly dismissed if it did not have its ground in a more serious weakness. The reader, on being informed in the lecture on the development of the conception of human personality that "it was Kant who inaugurated the modern epoch in the treatment of personality" (p. 21), naturally expects to find a corresponding progress in our conception of the divine personality. Instead of this he finds that the process stops abruptly with the fourth century. If

Mr. Illingworth, instead of rehearsing the familiar arguments for the divine existence, had gone on to show how the insight won into the nature of human personality had, in these latter days, no less than in the former, been enlarging our understanding of God; if he had analyzed the conception of divine personality in the light of the discussions of Kant and his successors, as he has so well analyzed the conception of human personality, his book would have been a stronger one. For it is just at the points where we expect most light from Mr. Illingworth that he is most disappointing. It is in the Trinity that the Christian doctrine of God is expressed; and it is just in the discussion of this doctrine that one looks in vain for a statement of the author's position. Both the social and the psychological analogies are, as he truly says, based upon personality. But, if consistently carried out, they lead to very different conceptions of God. One may hold to a psychological Trinity, denying as strongly as our author "the undifferentiated unity of the unitarian," and yet hold the application of the social analogy to be misleading. Or one may hold to a social Trinity in the full sense of the word, claiming that personality, for God as for man, is not personality unless face to face with other persons. Mr. Illingworth tells us truly why the Church carried the social analogy no farther than the doctrine of the Son; he shows clearly how the psychological analogy was actually applied; but that is all. What he should have given us and what we seek in vain in his pages is a discussion, in the light of the conception of human personality, of the limits and the relations of the two analogies. That Mr. Illingworth believes a reconciliation possible, he clearly hints on p. 74, where he contrasts the imperfect triunity of human personality, needing "to go beyond itself for completion, as in the family," with the perfect triunity of God, in which there is "nothing potential or unrealized," "whose triune elements are eternally actualized by no outward influence, but from within; a trinity in unity; a social God with all the conditions of personal existence internal to Himself." But the reconciliation is rather affirmed than shown to be possible, and hence the arguments of the author lose much of their force.

The same lack of clearness meets us in his treatment of the Incarnation. He uses personality to prove incarnation possible rather than to make it intelligible. But it is just the latter point which needs to be

made clear. If the main argument of the book holds, then the growth in our understanding of personality ought to make our conception of incarnation constantly clearer, richer and more reasonable. If this can be shown to be the case, then we believe that the *a priori* objections to which Mr. Illingworth devotes so much space will fall to the ground of their own weight. But the author has only pointed us to an open door. He himself has not entered in.

In spite of these weaknesses—weaknesses for which lack of space is no doubt partly responsible—the book is helpful and true. It is full of striking and suggestive passages (*e. g.*, the distinction between illusion and delusion on p. 78), and what is better, full of strong conviction in the reality of spiritual things, and of faith in the capacity of man to know and rejoice in these supreme realities. In these days of skepticism, believing and unbelieving, it is refreshing to meet a man of wide reading and open mind who believes that man is made for God and can hear and understand when God speaks.

WM. ADAMS BROWN.

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Occult Japan.*

THE reviewer remembers that among his first experiences of the Japanese he found them altogether too religious. The quantity of religion which they had on hand was so great that it recalled their own proverb concerning good manners, "*excessive politeness is impoliteness.*" One felt almost immediately that so vast a quantity of religion—alleged to be such—was too great for either clearness of mind or correctness of conduct. All kinds of real animals were supposed to be more or less in a state of transmigration, while a certain number of them were believed to be likely any moment to "possess" human beings. The fox, the cat, the badger were the most industrious in their activity as possessors of the human consciousness. Furthermore, the list of imaginary but putatively active creatures is vastly greater. Every man, woman and child had stories to tell about some neighbor or friend, relative or ancestor who had been possessed either by animals or by gods. As for the number of gods, no complete census had ever been taken, but as the air, earth and water were full of them, it was not generally thought that the number could be ex-

* Occult Japan; or, The Way of the Gods. By Percival Lowell. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

pressed in figures less than hundreds of millions. In a word, the average Japanese believed in so many gods that the belief in one god was, in his normal state of mind, an impossibility.

So thoroughly saturated is the popular mind in Japan with this idea of god-possession, that both the Buddhist priests and the native physicians, and even foreign doctors, utilized this belief for the good of their patients. In certain cases, especially in convalescence after fever, patients, particularly women, can be greatly helped towards recovery by having the priests of their sect come and exorcise the god or the demon—the line between the bestial and divine possession not being clearly drawn.

No foreigner, however, so far as we know, has yet made a systematic study of the phenomena of god-possession among the Japanese, and hence this tentative work of Mr. Lowell is a decided addition to our knowledge of the mental phenomena of the far-Eastern folk. Possessing unusual abilities for his task, being himself a keen student of psychological problems, he has also been very successful in studying the phenomena of the mind among the lower classes of Japan. He was so fortunate as to be on the top of Ontaké, a famous mountain in Japan, well named the Honorable, to which the pilgrims annually repair. Of late years, since Buddhism has been politically disestablished and Shinto revived under Government auspices (probably we might correctly say galvanized into life), there has been a marked increase of pilgrimages and of the methods for securing god-possession. More exactly, it may be stated that since the annihilation of what is called Riyobuism (a conglomerate of Buddhism and Shinto, to the outward or at least commercial advantage of the former), that which was formerly phenomenal in Buddhism is now transferred to the purified and (allegedly) reformed Shinto system.

Mr. Lowell furnishes us with a luminous chapter upon the indigenous religion, one upon miracles, and another upon incarnations. He treats also of pilgrimages and the pilgrim clubs, and describes fascinatingly the shrines of Isé, the most holy place of Japanese faith. The miracles which he describes were as follows: Successful issue of flesh and cuticle from immersion in boiling water; the descent of the thunder-god into a mess of boiled rice, while yet steaming; the lighting of tobacco in a pipe held by a devotee while sitting on the ridge-pole of the roof of a house. Two so-called miracles were performed ostenta-

tiously after due advertisement and assembling of a sympathetic audience. One consisted in first making a bed of live coals and then salting it over before the application of the unusually hard callous of the Japanese foot was allowed to touch it during a hasty walk. In another case a dozen or so of swords set edgewise and upward were arranged like the cross-pieces of a ladder. By adroit balancings, the calloused skin of the walkers over the steel rundles was not cut. Other instances of so-called god-possession, are duly detailed by Mr. Lowell, who, with all his resources of wit and humor, to say nothing of his amazing power of intellectual calisthenics and word mimicry, furnishes a book which is really funny. We are not quite able to regard it, as evidently Mr. Lowell thinks it ought to be regarded, as a real contribution to the philosophy of miracles; nor, even after reading his treatise on the various phenomena of mind, which he tacks on to the end of his highly entertaining book of travels, are we persuaded that his work will throw any real light upon the miracles which thoroughly honest readers of the New Testament believe were wrought by the Son of Man. Our only wonder is that with so many gods and with so many priests in Japan, such "miracles" as Mr. Lowell describes are not even more numerous than they are. Nevertheless, the author deserves a great deal of credit for his enterprise in describing what he has seen. He certainly has brought within range of his vision and of charming literary treatment, certain phenomena which the average tourist book-maker might travel through Japan a thousand times without discovering. The real merit of Mr. Lowell's book consists in rightly allying these Japanese ideas and customs with the primitive faith of Japan, which is Shinto and not Buddhism. Viewed from this light, the book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge and to the analysis of what can make the only claim to being the original religion of Japan. We can only hope that a gentleman with the wealth, leisure, tastes and extraordinary abilities of Mr. Lowell, will upon the Asiatic continent in Korea and Manchuria make similar studies and give us the product of his scholarly comparison.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Demon-Possession.

PECULIAR though it may appear, there are prominent doctrines and beliefs of Christianity which find a readier acceptance in

the Orient than in the Occident. One of these is that of an atonement by substitution in the baldest form. A recent volume points to another belief, which is of almost universal native acceptance in China, but in which men of the West have almost ceased to believe. The title of the book is: *Demon-Possession, and allied themes*, and it was written by the late Dr. John L. Nevius, who for forty years was a missionary of the Presbyterian Church in China. He was a careful man, a keen observer, a patient investigator. Finding a belief prevalent among those in whose midst he was called to labor, that individuals were "possessed" by evil spirits, who made the subject an instrument through whom they acted and spoke, he felt the necessity of investigation laid upon him. The results of his labors are here spread out in considerable detail, and with results that are very striking—even startling. Within our present brief limits it is impossible to go into the subject at great length, while an explanation of the phenomena is beyond the limits of a tome. The salient facts may be stated, and the reader referred to the book for further details. The "possessed" person is usually one in sound health, into whom "a demon" is supposed to enter, obliterating the personality, voluntary consciousness, and memory of the subject, speaking through the subject's mouth in his own language, or even in dialects or languages utterly unknown to the subject; changing the character of the subject, rendering a kindly person morose or vicious, giving supposed powers of healing. Against such possession the subject struggles as against a distinct evil. Exorcism has been practised and successfully accomplished by the reading of scripture and by prayer. The book is remarkable and interesting. (N. Y.: The Revell Co. \$1.50.)

Judaic Christianity.

THE late Dr. F. J. A. Hort, Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, England, is best known, perhaps, through his joint editorship of the Greek text of the New Testament in the edition of Westcott and Hort. During the later years of his life he was accustomed to lecture upon topics connected with early Christian history, and two of these courses have been published under the supervision of Prof. J. O. F. Murray, under the title *Judaic Christianity*. In them are traced "the various stages in the emancipation of the Church from the trammels of Judaism." Other lectures are to be published dealing with introduction

to the Epistle to the Romans, and with the Clementine "Recognitions." The questions raised by Baur and the attempts that have been made to "interpret Christian documents in the light of the historical situation out of which they sprang," have given rise to a very considerable literature, and the present is a valuable addition to it. Only by tracing the interrelations of the canonical books and the causes which called them forth, can we gain an adequate idea of how Christianity grew and developed. The narrowness of the Jew hampered the free spirit of Christianity, and the present volume is an attempt to trace the course which was taken in bursting the impeding bonds. For scholars it is only necessary to mention the appearance of the book, and intelligent readers will be glad to avail themselves of so clear and excellent an exposition as that of Dr. Hort. (New York: Macmillan & Co. \$1.75.)

The Paddock Lectures for 1894.

THE title of these lectures is *The Permanent Value of the Book of Genesis as an integral part of the Christian Revelation*. They were delivered by Dr. C. W. E. Body, Professor of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation in the General Theological Seminary, New York. They are intended as a contribution to the study of the Old Testament for the use of the laity as well as of the clergy, not as the exploitation of a theory. The author pleads for a re-examination of the hypotheses which have been advanced by specialists, believing that a positive acceptance of these theories will prove detrimental to the interests of truth. Time is not only a great healer, but also a great rectifier of error, and there can be no positive and permanent progress except it be based on the truth. Truth must be sought for, and hence there can be no objection to a re-examination of the basal postulates of criticism. Theories founded on error lead only deeper into error, and hence the necessity for reiterated investigation. Prof. Body is well qualified for his task, and he has made an interesting book. While we cannot agree with all the positions which he advances, attention may be called particularly to a most judicious expression, when he says (p. 92) that theologians have been much at fault "if they ever suffered or encouraged scientists to assume that the primary object of the narrative of creation was to give a scientific account of the sequence or evolution of the different

forms of life, so that a great scientist of to-day can still think of that sublime prologue to all revelation as a fence placed across the path of scientific investigation . . . as a sort of advanced copy of a monograph on Geological Biology three thousand years before its time." (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.50.)

Sermons.

TO HIS earlier volumes of sermons, entitled "Social Christianity" and "Ethical Christianity," the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, of London, has added another called *Essential Christianity*: a series of explanatory sermons. The highest praise that can be accorded to these discourses may be indicated by the statement that as one reads, one's grip on the truth is strengthened, and one's conviction of the ultimate outcome is deepened. They are noble sermons and their spirit is inspiring. "The great task of the twentieth century will be to separate essential Christianity from the incrustations which have grown over it during the last nineteen centuries." If any one is repulsed by this statement, let him be reassured by such as these: "So far Science has given no intelligible explanation of Christianity, although Christianity is the most persistent, widespread and powerful characteristic of modern European civilization"; "In our Universities, in Parliament, among the middle classes, and amid the great masses of the people, the Christian religion is a much greater and more effective force to-day than it has ever previously been within living memory"; "The prospects of Christianity in England were never so bright as they are to-day." The object in view in the definition of essential Christianity is stated thus: "Let us first of all find out wherein all Christians agree; then shall we be the better able to understand wherein they differ, and in what direction agreement, co-operation, and ultimate union may be achieved." (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co. \$1.25.)

A MOST excellent series of expository sermons is contained in a volume by Dr. Robert F. Horton, the recent Yale lecturer on preaching, entitled *The Cartoons of St. Mark*. Dr. Horton is well known as a talented scholar and an engaging speaker. There are those who fear him for his critical position, and almost ask can any good come out of a critic? This volume may serve as an answer. Most admirably equipped for such a task as this, the preacher makes the salient points of the narrative stand

out even more prominently. He apologizes for printing a book which contains extempore discourses caught as they flew by the rapid pen of the short-hand writer, but they need no apology: they speak for themselves, and speak well. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co. \$1.50.)

SERMONS are like other things: by their fruits ye shall know them. And yet it is quite possible that some of the most effective sermons may not have a great deal of learning in them, and may not hereafter enjoy a literary immortality. The voice and the personality preach as well as the words, and the latter, printed in a book, seem only half alive. These thoughts are suggested by a volume *God's World, and Other Sermons*, by Rev. B. Fay Mills. There are fifteen of them, equally divided between those preached on ordinary occasions, at evangelistic meetings, and to those outside of the Church. Persons who have heard Mr. Mills will be glad to have this collection, and those who have not may be profited by the perusal. As object-lessons to preachers they will be useful, for one cannot imagine a dull audience in the face of such preaching. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co. \$1.25.)

THE catalogue of the writings of the Rev. F. B. Meyer, of London, is becoming very long. The latest is his *Jeremiah: Priest and Prophet*, in his series of Old Testament Heroes. Essentially, the book is a series of historico-expository sermons, with a considerable admixture of the practical and hortatory element. Withal they are more or less suggestive, and contain hints that may be turned to good use. The incident of Jehoiakim and his use of the penknife on Jehudi's roll gives the author a fine opportunity for a back-handed slap at the "Higher Critics," though in almost the next line he mixes things and speaks of "Jehudi's penknife." (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co. \$1.)

TO COMPARE sermon-outlines to pemmican is striking, but the truth of the simile is matter to be determined only by investigation. Dr. S. D. McConnell's second series of *Sermon Stuff* is by all odds one of the best of sermon-outline volumes that we have seen, and so far as examination without the practical and supreme test can determine, it seems to justify the employment of the simile. But as the author himself warns the reader or user, unless its material is used in the proper way it will be found "a dry and choking morsel." The outlines must be worked out by the

preacher so that they shall be made the preacher's own, and so that they shall not bear the signs and ear-marks of second-hand material. The illustrations cited will cause search for the facts intended, and may indirectly do an unintended good. The volume contains sixty-five outlines. The proof-reading of the volume has not been done with the care that might have been expected. (New York: Thomas Whitaker. \$1, net.)

Practical.

THERE is plenty of room for another book, in fact for several and recurringly more books, on the general subject of *The Family*; or, *The Home and the Training of Children*. The corner-stone of the state and the hope of the church lie just here. Many are the earnest words which have been spoken on this subject, and while the sentiments uttered by Dr. L. Bookwalter, of Dayton, Ohio, in the volume whose title is given above, are not particularly novel or original, they are nevertheless true and important. The four chapters contain as many lectures delivered in the Union Biblical Seminary, and their subjects are: The family as an institution, Husbands and Wives, Parents and Children, and Words to Parents. An appendix by the father of the author deals with "The Home School," and contains some good hints. (Dayton: United Brethren Pub. House. pp. 111.)

Missions.

A CONSIDERABLE number of small volumes on Christian missions have been prepared by Jesse Page for the perusal of young people. The latest to reach us is entitled *Among the Maoris*, or *Daybreak in New Zealand*. The story of the labors of Samuel Marsden, the chaplain of the original "Botany Bay," of Bishop George Augustus Selwyn, and of other workers in this field, are condensed into one hundred and sixty pages. The natives, their customs and practices, superstitions and beliefs, are also briefly treated. In spite of the necessary condensation, the book is interesting and instructive, enabling one to get a hurried and superficial acquaintance with the general outlines of the story. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co. 75 c.)

Church Club of New York.

UNDER the auspices of the Church Club of New York, during the past few years, there have been several courses of lectures delivered upon topics of special interest to churchmen. The general title of the series for 1894 is *The Rights and Pretensions of the Roman See*, and the topics and lecturers

were as follows: St. Peter and the Primacy of the Roman See, by Dr. William Paret, Bishop of Maryland; Sardica and Appeals to Rome, by Dr. Lucius Waterman, of Laconia, N. H.; Rome, Constantinople and the Rise of Papal Supremacy, by Rev. Greenough White, of Hartford; The Growth of Papal Supremacy and Feudalism, by Rev. Robert Ritchie, of Philadelphia; The Babylonian Exile and the Papal Schism, by Rev. A. S. Crapsey, of Rochester, and The Syllabus and Papal Infallibility, by Dr. A. C. A. Hall, Bishop of Vermont. These lectures are all interesting and instructive, and it would be invidious to single out any for special mention. We have read several of them with profit. (New York: E. and J. B. Young. 50 cents, net.)

Neesima.

ONE of the noblest, most consecrated, useful and successful men of the present generation was a native of Japan, Neesima, "a maker of the new Japan, the runaway Japanese boy who founded the first Christian College in Japan." We have been delighted by the story of his life written by the son of Neesima's American patron, and now we have the pleasure of calling attention to the second (first American) edition of a work entitled *A Sketch of the Life of Rev. Joseph Hardy Neesima, LL.D.*, President of Doshisha University, Kyoto, written by his colleague, Rev. J. D. Davis, D.D., professor of theology in the same institution. It is a book of only about one hundred and fifty pages, but it unfolds an inspiring tale. It is well illustrated, and gives an account that supplements that of Prof. A. S. Hardy published a couple of years ago by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin and Company. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co. \$1.)

IN 1859 the Rev. Dr. Joseph A. Seiss delivered a course of lectures on the Book of Leviticus, which were published soon after under the title of "The Gospel in Leviticus," a book that enjoyed considerable reputation. Now after an interval of thirty-five years, during which other editions have been issued, the volume reappears under the title *Holy Types; or, The Gospel in Leviticus*, in a "new edition." So far as can be judged, it is a title-page edition only. In the time that has intervened many new problems have come up for solution and the processes of criticism have resulted in a difference in the way in which the subject is treated. By many the author's standpoint will be regarded as antiquated and the force of his treat-

ment denied. The very title indicates that much New Testament thought has been transferred to an Old Testament setting, a procedure repugnant to present methods. At the same time we have received *Bibliographia*, a classified list of the published works of Dr. Seiss, accompanied with numerous literary notices. (Philadelphia: Lutheran Bookstore.)

THAT a man should be so much impressed by a diary found in the desk of a dead friend as to give it to the world in a volume entitled *The Melancholy of Stephen Allard*, proves that he thought that he had found something of which the

world had need. Stephen Allard is in search of knowledge and truth, and so separates himself from his fellow-men and the "prosaic world" to try to find an aim in life and to reason out a faith. He develops the intellectual side of his nature to the fullest extent, but with all his knowledge, like Amiel, the chiefest of the sons of melancholy, he is not to be consoled, and concludes that "nothing is worth the knowing but that which is unknown, the unknowable." He dies before he has reasoned out a faith, lacking that spiritual insight which should have shown him that the "Kingdom of Heaven is within." (New York: Macmillan. \$1.75.)

RECORD OF THEOLOGICAL BOOKS.

Compiled and edited by Ernest C. Richardson, Librarian College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.

OUTLINE OF CLASSIFICATION.

I. Exegetical Theology.

II. Historical Theology.

1. Biblical and Jewish.
2. Post Biblical.
3. Non-Christian Religions.

III. Systematic Theology.

I.—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

a. American and English.

- ABBOTT, Lyman. Christian worker's illustrated N. T. commentary. N. Y., Barnes, 1895. New handy ed. 5 v. 12°. Per v., \$1.50; \$2; \$3. New household ed., 3 v. 8°. Per v., \$2.50; \$3.50; \$4.
- CAMPBELL, T. Studies in Biblical and ecclesiastical subjects. Lond., Stock, 1895. 8°. 6s.
- CHAMBERS, G. F. The story of the Psalms. Lond., Newnes, 1895. 184 p. 18°. 1s.
- DAVIS, J. P. Genesis and Semitic tradition. Lond., Nutt, 1895. 8°. 4s. 6d.
- FARRAR, F. W. The book of Daniel. Lond., Hodder, 1895. 342 p. 8°. 7s. 6d. (Expositor's Bible.)
- FOUR Gospels, The, as historical records. Lond., Williams & N., 1894. 564 p. 8°. 15s.
- HATCH, E., and REDPATH, H. A. A concordance to the Septuagint. Lond., Frowde. Pt. 4. 1895. 21s.
- KENNEDY, J. On the book of Jonah. A monograph. Lond., Alexander, 1895. 128 p. 8°. 3s.
- PARKER, Jos. The people's Bible. V. 26, Romans-Galatians. N. Y., Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1895. 460 p. 8°. \$1.50.
- PULPIT commentary. St. Matthew v. 2. Lond., Paul, 1895. 8°. 21s.
- VINCENT, Marvin R. Biblical inspiration

IV. Practical Theology.

1. Individual Experience.
2. The Family, Society, The State.
3. The Church.
4. Sermons and Preaching.
5. Missions and Evangelism.

V. Bibliography, Encyclopedia Essays, etc.

and Christ. N. Y., Randolph, 1895. 43 p. 12°. Pap., 25c.

VINCENT, Marvin R. That monster, the higher critic. N. Y., Randolph & Co., 1895. 41 p. Sq. 12°. Pap., 25c.

WILDEBOER, G. The origin of the canon of the O. T. Tr. B. W. Bacon. Lond., Luzac, 1895. 194 p. 8°. 7s. 6d.

b. Other.

- BUHL, F. De messianske Forjaettelser i det gamle Testament. Kjöbenhavn, 1894. 8°.
- CALVIN, J. Commentaires sur le N. T. Toulouse, 1894. 4 v. 8°.
- DESSAILLY. Concordance parfaite de la chronologie biblique et de la chronologie égyptienne. Paris, Delhomme, 1895. 63 p. 16°.
- DOUAIS, C. Une ancienne version latin de l'Ecclesiastique. Paris, Picard, 1895. 36 p. 4°.
- ECKART, Thdr. Alttestamentliche Betrachtungen. Zum Gebrauche in Kirche, Schule u. Haus. 2 Thl. Eisleben, 1895. iv+280 p. 8°. 1.80M.
- HASSANS Bar Bahlule. Lexicon syriacum. Paris, Leroux. 2 cols. 4°. 49-64, 1210-1688 p. 1894.
- HERBST, Ferd. Mein Freund ist mein. Betrachtungen üb. das Hohelied. Barmen, Wupperthaler Traktat-Gesellschaft, 1895. iv+226 p. 8°. 1.80; 2.60; 3.20M.
- KNOLLER, L. Kurzgefasster Leitfaden f.

den grammatischen Unterricht in der hebräischen Sprache. 3. Aufl. Breslau, Jacobsohn, 1895. iv+22 p. 8°. —40M.

LANDRIEUX, M. Au pays du Christ. Etudes bibliques en Egypte et en Palestine. Paris, Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1894. ix+645 p. 8°.

LE CAMUS. Voyage au pays bibliques. Brux., Vromant, 1894. 2 v. 8° 15f.

LIBER regum. Textum masoreticum accuratissime expressit S. Baer. Lpz., Tauchnitz, 1895. iv+171 p. 8°. 1.50M.

MOOR, F. de. Le livre de Tobie et les premiers monarques Sargonides d'Assyrie. Paris, 1895. 49 p. 8°.

STOR, Johann. Kong David. Hft. 2 & 4.

WINCKLER, Hugo. Altorientalische Forschungen. Lpz., Pfeiffer. 8°. 1895. 6; 6.50M.

II.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

1. Biblical and Jewish.

a. American and English.

BEYSCHLAG, Willibald. New Testament theology. Tr. Neil Buchanan. N. Y., imported by C. Scribner's Sons, 1895. 2 v. 8°. Net, \$6.

CUMMINGS, J. E. John the Baptist. Lond., Marshall, 1895. 108 p. 8°. 1s. net.

HOBSON, E. Lives of the Patriarchs. Lond., Nat. Soc., 1894. 68 p. 8°.

JACOBS, J. . . . Jews in Spain. Lond., Nutt, 1895. 8°. 4s.

RENAN, Ernest. History of the people of Israel from the rule of the Persians to that of the Greeks. [In 5 v. V. 4.] Bost., Roberts Bros., 1895. 6+354 p. 8°. Cl., \$2.50.

b. Other.

ALTSCHUELER, M. Essays. I. Ein Kapitel aus der jüd. Geschichte. II. Ueber die Männer der grossen Synagoge. (In hebr. Sprache.) Wien, Lipppe, 1895. iv+80 p. 8°. 1.50M.

BRANN, M. E. kurzer Gang durch die jüdische Geschichte. Hrsg. vom Verein f. jüd. Geschichte u. Litteratur zu Breslau. Breslau, Jacobsohn, 1895. 42 p. 8°. —60M.

BRANN, M. Geschichte der Juden u. ihrer Litteratur. Für Schule u. Haus bearb. II. Tl.: Vom Abschluss des Talmuds bis zur Gegenwart. Breslau, Jacobsohn, 1895. viii +486 p. 8°. 3; 3.30; 3.50M.

DARMESTER, J. Les prophètes d'Israel. Paris, Levy, 1895. xx+391 p. 18°. 3.50f.

KAHN, L. Histoire de la communauté israélite de Paris. Les Juifs de Paris au XVIII^e siècle. Paris, Durlacher, 1894 (1895). 146 p. 18°. 3f.

NETELER, B. Die Zeitstellung des israelitischen Auszugs in der ägyptischen Geschichte aus ägyptischen Quellen bewiesen. Münster, Theissing, 1895. 16 p. 8°. —50M.

2. Post-Biblical. *

a. American and English.

ALLEN, Rev. A. V. G. The continuity of Christian thought: a study of modern theology in the light of history. New ed. Bost., Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895. 12°. \$2.

ANDREWS, Wm., ed. Curious church customs. Hall, Andrews, 1895. 274 p. 8°. 6s.

AUGUSTINE (St.). Confessions. Bks. I-X. Rev. tr. Lond., Routledge, 1895. 250 p. 8°. 1s. 6d.

BOYLE, G. D. Recollections. Lond., Arnold, 1895. 300 p. 8°. 16s.

COWAN, H. Landmarks of church history to the Reformation. N. Y., Randolph, 1895. 8+152 p. T. 30c. (Guild text-books.)

GASQUET, F. A. The last Abbot of Gasconbury. Lond., Simpkins, 1895. 176 p. 8°. 7s. 6d.

HALL, Francis J. The historical position of the Episcopal church. Milwaukee, Wis., The Young Churchman Co., 1895. 2+71 p. 12°. Net, 50c.; pap., 20c.

KENDRICK, Asahel C., assisted by Cooper, Florence Kendrick. Martin B. Anderson, LL. D.: a biography. Phil., Am. Bapt. Pub. Soc., 1895. 3+295 p. Il. 12°. \$1.50.

KOSTLIN, J. Life of Luther. 2 ed. Lond., Longmans, 1895. 500 p. 8°. 7s. 6d.

LE MORMIER (Abbé). History of St. Francis of Assisi; pref. by Cardinal Vaughan. N. Y., imported by Benziger Bros., 1895. 12°. Net, \$4.25.

LEO XIII. [Gioacchino Pecci], (Pope). The pope and the people: selected letters and addresses of Pope Leo XIII. on social questions; ed. by the Rev. W. H. Eyre. N. Y., imported by Benziger Bros., 1895. 12°. Pap., net, 70c.

LOVE, W. De Loss. The fast and Thanksgiving days of New England. Bost., Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895. 8°. Net, \$3.

NEWELL, E. J. A history of the Welsh church to the dissolution of the monasteries. Lond., Stock, 1895. 418 p. 8°. 10s. 6d.

PARRY, O. H. Six months in a Syrian monastery. Lond., Cox, 1895. 390 p. 8°. 12s.

PASTOR, L. History of the popes. V. 3 and 4. 1895. 24s. net.

POUVILLON, E. Bernadette of Lourdes; tr. by H. O'Shea. N. Y., imp. by Benziger Bros., 1895. 12°. Net, 70c.

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STORIES of the Bishops of Iceland. Lond., Masters, 1895. 126 p. 8°. 2s. 6d.

TYLER, B. B. A history of the disciples of Christ. N. Y., Christ. Literature Co., 1895. 12°. \$1.

WIRGMAN, A. T. The history of the English church and people in South Africa. Lond., Longmans, 1895. 280 p. 8°. 3s. 6d.

b. *Other.*

- AELBRECHT, E. *Gent onder de calvinisten* (1566-1585). Gent, Siffer, 1894. 128 p. 8°. 1.50f.
- BASEDOW, Armin. *Die Inclusion in Deutschland*. Unter besond. Berücksicht. des *Dialogus miraculorum* des Caesarius v. Heisterbach dargestellt. Heidelberg, Hörning, 1895. 52 p. 8°. —80M.
- CHAPER. *Vie et miracles de la bienheureuse Philippe de Chantemilan*. Intr. par U. Chevalier. Paris, Picard, 1894. xliii+101 p. 8°.
- CHOMTON. *St. Bernard et le château de Fontaines-lès-Dijon*. Dijon, l'Union typ. 8°. T. 2. 1894. 301 p. 8°.
- ESTOC, M. d'. *Les Réquisitoires*. Paris, 1894. 316 p. 18°. 3.50f.
- GOYAU, Georges, Pératé, André et Fabre, Paul. *Le Vatican, les papes et la civilisation*. Le gouvernement central de l'Eglise. Bruxelles, Société Belge, 1894. 800 p. (488 il.) 30; 40f.
- HARTMANN, Frz. *Die Geheimlehre in der christlichen Religion nach den Erklärungen v. Meister Eckhart*. Lpz., Friedrich, 1895. viii+226 p. 8°. 3M.
- HOCH, Alex. *Lehre des Johannes Cassianus v. Natur u. Gnade*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Gnadenstreits im 5. Jahrh. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1895. vii+116 p. 8°. 1.60M.
- HUBERT, W. E. *Lebensbilder katholischer Erzieher*. IV. *Der hl. Hieronymus Aemiliani, Stifter der Kongregatio v. Somasca*. Mainz, Kirchheim, 1895. xi+172 p. 8°. 2M.
- LAMPE, J. F. *Bergens Stifts Biskoper 2, 3*.
- MALNORY, A. *Quid Luxoviensis . . . ad regulam monasteriorum, etc. contulerint*. (Thèse.) Paris, Bouillon, 1894. viii+100 p. 8°.
- MORIN, Germanus. *Anecdota maredsolana seu monumenta ecclesiasticae antiquitatis ex mss. codicibus nunc primum edita aut denuo illustrata*. Maredsol. Oxford, J. Parker & Co. 4°.
- III, 1. *Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri qui deperditi hactenus putabantur commentarii in psalmos*. 1895. xx+114 p. 5M.
- PAGES, M. *Les gloires sacerdotales contemporaines*. Mgr. Dupanloup. Paris, Delhomme, 1895. 292 p. 8°.
- PRATS, J. de. *L'Eglise africaine ancienne et moderne*. Tours, Mame, 1894. 192 p. 8°.
- SCHMID, Ch. E. *Blatt der Erinnerung an Geh.-R. Prof. v. Frank*. Erlangen, Mencke, 1895. 22 p. 12°. —30M.
- UN saint et savant Breton (Le Gall). 4 éd. Quimper, Salaun, 1894. xii+457 p. 16°.
- WAPLER, A. *History of the Roman Catholic church*. Odessa, 1894. 298 p. 8°. 4M. (In Russian.)
- WEBER, Beda. *Zur Reformationsgeschichte der freien Reichstadt Frankfurt a. M.*

Hrsg. J. Diefenbach. Frankfurt a. M., Foesser, 1895. iv+88 p. 8°. 1M.

WITZ, C. A. *Gustav Adolf u. Jesus-Christus*. Eine erwelt. Festrede. Wien, Manz, 1895. 39 p. 8°. —40M.

3. Non-Christian Religions.

a. *American and English.*

- GRANT, G. M. *Religions of the world in relation to Christianity*. N. Y., Randolph, 1895. 5+137 p. T. 30c. (Gulld text-books.)
- JUDGE, W. Q. *Isis and the Mahatmas*. Lond. Office, 1895. 36 p. 8°. 6d.
- PHILLIPS, M. *The teaching of the Vedas*. Lond., Longmans, 1895. 248 p. 8°. 6s.
- REA, A. *South Indian Buddhist antiquities*. Lond., Luzac, 1895. 62 p. 4°. 12s. 6d.
- SACRED books of the East. Lond., Frowde. 8°.
45. *Gaina Sâtras*; tr. H. Jacobi. Pt. 2. 491 p. 12s. 6d.
- SOLOVYOFF, Vsevolod Sergyeveich. *A modern priestess of Isis*; abridged and translated on behalf of the Society for Psychical Research; from the Russian, by Walter Leaf. N. Y., Longmans, 1895. 19+366 p. 12°. \$2.

b. *Other.*

HENRY, V. *Les livres VIII et IX de l'Atharva-Veda*. Tr. Paris, Maisonneuve, 1894. xii+164 p. 8°.

III.—SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

a. *American and English.*

- BALFOUR, Arthur Ja. *The foundations of belief: being notes introductory to the study of theology*. N. Y., Longmans, 1895. 8+366 p. 12°. Cl., \$2. (Lond., 12s. 6d.)
- BELL, A. J. *Whence comes man, from nature or from God?* Lond., Isbister, 1895. 248 p. 5s. 8°.
- BELL, A. J. *Why does man exist?* Lond., Isbister, 1895. 348 p. 8°. 5s.
- BROWN, E. Woodward. *The divine indwelling*. N. Y. and Chic., Revell Co. 315 p. 12°. \$1.25.
- CONFESSION (A) of faith by an unorthodox believer. N. Y., Macmillan, 1895. 194 p. 16°. \$1.25.
- CONFESSION of faith by an unorthodox believer. Lond., Macmillan, 1895. 186 p. 12°. 3s. 6d.
- COXHEAD, J. J. *Reality: a sermon*. Lond., Isbister, 1895. 12°. 1s.
- CREIGHTON. *Persecution and tolerance*. Lond., Longmans, 1895. 144 p. 8°. 4s. 6d. (Hulsean lect., 1893-4.)
- DENNY, J. *Studies in theology*. 2 ed. Lond., Hodder, 1895. 272 p. 8°. 5s.
- DIXON, A. C., ed. *The Holy Spirit in life and service: addresses delivered before the conference on the ministry of the Holy*

- Spirit, held in Brooklyn, N. Y., October, 1894; with introd. by A. C. Dixon, D. D. N. Y. and Chic., Revell, 1895. 144 p. 12°. 75c.
- ETERNAL punishment. By a searcher. Lond., Hodder, 1895. 70 p. 8°. 2s.
- GORDON, A. J. The ministry of the Spirit. Phil., Am. Bapt. Pub. Soc., 1894 [1895]. 5+225 p. 12°. \$1.
- GORDON, A. J. The ministry of the Spirit; with introd., by Rev. F. B. Meyer. N. Y. and Chic., Revell, 1895. 225 p. 12°. \$1.
- GRIFFITHS, W. Divine footprints in the Bible. Lond., Stock, 1895. 8°. 1s. 6d.
- HAINES, E. W. The Lord's Supper. Lond., Stock, 1895. 12°. 2s.
- HUNTER, S. J. Outlines of dogmatic theology. Lond., Longmans, 1895. 3 v. 8°. Each 6s. 6d. (Manuals of Cath. theol.)
- KIDD, J. Morality and religion. Edinb., Clark, 1895. 464 p. 8°. 10s. 6d.
- LAWRENCE, A. E. B. Infant baptism. Lond., Marshall, 1895. 78 p. 18°. 1s.
- LORIMER, G. C. The argument for Christianity. Lond., Bapt. Book Soc., 1895. 463 p. 8°. 7s.
- MATHESON, G. The psalmist and the scientist; or, modern value of the religious sentiment. 3d ed. N. Y., Randolph, 1894 [1895]. 5+332 p. 12°. \$1.75.
- MOZLEY, J. B. Eight lectures on miracles. Lond., Longmans, 1895. 322 p. 8°. 3s. 6d.
- MUIR, Sir W., ed. The beacon of truth; or, testimony of the Koran to the truth of the Christian religion. N. Y. and Chic., Revell Co., 1895. 156 p. 12°. \$1.
- NEWMAN, H. Tracts. Lond., Longmans, 1895. 8°. 3s. 6d.
- NORRIS, J. P. Rudiments of theology. Lond., Longmans, 1895. 354 p. 8°. 3s. 6d.
- NOTES and questions on the Catholic faith and religion. Lond., Innes, 1895. 380 p. 8°. 1s.
- S., J. Great problem; or, man's future place and work in the universe. Lond., Stock, 1895. 8°. 1s. 6d.
- SATTERLEE, H. Y. A creedless gospel and the Gospel creed. N. Y., Scribner, 1895. 11+522 p. 8°. \$2.
- SEELEY, E. The great reconciliation. Lond., Stock, 1895. 3s. 6d.
- TRENCH, G. F. After the thousand years: the glorious reign of Christ as son of man. N. Y. and Chic., Revell Co., 1895. 120 p. 8°. \$1.
- WACE, H. Christianity and agnosticism: reviews of some recent attacks on the Christian faith. N. Y., Whittaker, 1895. 27+339 p. 8°. \$2.50.
- WATKINS, Oscar D. Holy matrimony. N. Y., Macmillan, 1895. 717 p. 8°. \$5. (Lond., Rivington, 25s.)
- b. Other.
- BAEUMKER, Clem. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. 1. Bd. 4. Hft. gr. 8°. Münster, Aschendorf.
4. Avencebrolis (Ibn Gebirol) fons vitae ex arabico in latinum translatus ab Johanne Hispano et Dominico Gundissalino. Ex codicibus Parisinis, Amploniano, Columbino primum ed. Clem. Baeumker. Fasc. III. xix+211-551 p. 10.75M.
- BOGROS, Maurice. La Genèse, origine du monde et de l'homme. Nevers, Cloix, 1894. 345 p. 8°.
- D., H. Etude de l'homme. De l'existence de Dieu conduisant à la religion. Paris, Guerin, 1894. xii+319 p. 16°. 3f.
- ETHISCHE Ausblicke u. Hoffnungen. Eine Sammlg. der Vorträge u. Erörtergn. 2. (Titel-)Ausg. Berl., Deutsche Gesellschaft f. eth. Kultur, 1895. iv+329 p. 8°. 3M.
- EWIGE Stoff, der, allgegenwärtige u. allvollkommene, der einzige mögliche Urgrund alles Seyns u. Daseyns. Lpz., Veit, 1895. xii+580 p. 8°. 7.50M.
- FALCK, C. B. Laegfolkets Mening om Unitarismen. Christiania, Mittet, 1894. 40 p. 12°. -30kr.
- FILKUKA, Lambert. Die metaphysischen Grundlagen der Ethik bei Aristoteles. Wien, Konegen, 1895. iv+138 p. 8°. 3M.
- FRIEDLAENDER, Jul. Spinoza e. Meister der Ethik. Nach e. Vortrage. Berl., Dreher, 1895. 31 p. 8°. -50M.
- HANKEL, Paul. Das Christentum im Banne des jüdischen Glaubens. Heidelberg, J. Hörning, 1875. 57 p. 8°. -80M.
- HEFTE zur "Christlichen Welt." 8°. L., F. W. Grunow.
14. Eck, S. Welchen Segen bringt die Beschäftigung m. der modernen Theologie unserm praktischen Berufsleben? 25 p. -40M.
15. Doerne, Frdr. Die Ergebnisse der neuen alttestamentlichen Forschungen u. ihre Bedeutung f. die Kirche. 47 p. -40M.
- HONTHEIM, Jos. Der logische Algorithmus. Berl., Dames, 1895. v+54 p. 8°. 2M.
- KEPPLER, Paul. Das Problem des Leidens in der Moral. Eine akadem. Antrittsrede. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1895. 58 p. 8°. 1M.
- KESSLER, Gust. Die Religion soll Privatsache werden. Glaube, Religion, Sittlichkeit u. Kirche im Verhältniss zur Sozial-Demokratie. Berl., H. Baake, 1895. 48 p. 12°. -20M.
- KRATZENSTEIN, Ed. Christisches u. Antichristisches. Eine Probe davon, dass auch die Psalmen genaue Weissagn. üb. die letzten Dinge enthalten. (Psalm 42-51.) 2. Aufl. Basel, Jaeger & Kober, 1895. iii+140 p. 8°. -80M.
- LABAT, P. Considerations sur la connaissance religieuse. La volonté (thèse). Montauban, Gronie, 1894. 85 p. 8°.
- PAUL, J. Taufe u. Geistestaupe. Berl., Ev. Tract. Gesellschaft, 1895. 87 p. 8°. -60M.
- PHILOSOPHISCHE Vorträge. III. Folge. Berl., Gaertner.

3. Ulrich, Geo. Verdienst u. Gnade od. Ueber die Motive des Handelns. III+94 p. 1.60M.
- POERTZGEN, P. J. M. Das Herz des Gottmenschen im Weltenplane. Trier, Paulinus-Druckerei, 1895. iv+280 p. 8°. 2; 2.80M.
- STOLZ, Alban. Der verbotene Baum f. Katholiken u. Protestanten gezeigt. 5. Abdr. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1895. 56 p. 16°. —30M.
- UNGARN-STERBERG u. Dietz. Zeitfragen. 143. Simon, Thdr. Arthur Schopenhauer nach s. Charakter u. s. Stellung z. Christenthums. 47 p. —80M.
- WEISS, A. M. Apologie du christianisme. Tr. Collin. Paris, Delhomme, 1895. 467 p. 8°.
- ZAHM. Science catholique. Tr. Flageolet. Paris, Lethielleux, 1895. xvi+316 p. 16°.
- ZENKER, Wilh. Streiflichter auf e. neue Weltanschauung in Bezug, e. astro-metaphys. Hypothese ü. das innere Walten der Natur u. die sich daraus ergeb. Konsequenzen auf die Ethik u. Religion. 7. Aufl. Holzminden. Braunschweig, Schwetschke, 1895. 88 p. 8°. 1M.

IV.—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

1. Individual Experience.

a. American and English.

- BENSON, R. M. The final Passover: meditations. Lond., Longmans. 12°.
2. 1. 1895. 162 p. 5s.
- CARTER, T. T., ed. Treasury of devotion. Compiled by a priest. 19 ed. Lond., Longmans, 1895. 18°. 2s. 6d.
- GALLWEY, Rev. P. The watches of the passion with before and after. N. Y., imported by Benziger Bros., 1895. 3 v. Net, \$3.20.
- HAWLEY, E. The needs for a happy life. Lond., Digby, 1895. 250 p. 8°. 3s. 6d.
- HOLLAND, W. L. The beauty of holiness. Lond., Partridge, 1895. 176 p. 32°. 1s. 6d.
- HOWE, Reginald Heber. Quadragesima; or, thoughts for each day in Lent. N. Y., Whittaker, 1895. 160 p. 12°. Net, \$1.
- MATHESON, G. Searchings in the silence: a series of devotional meditations. N. Y., Randolph, 1895. 4+240 p. 12°. \$1.
- MACMILLAN, Hugh. The daisies of Nazareth. N. Y. and Chic., Revell, 1895. 255 p. 12°. \$1.50.
- OLDKNOW, JOS., and CRAKE, A. D., comps. Priest's book of private devotions. Lond., Mowbray, 1895. 544 p. 5s.
- PIERSON, Arthur T. Life-power; or, character, culture, and conduct. N. Y. and Chic., Revell Co., 1895. 5+214 p. 12°. \$1.
- ROMANES, G. J. Thoughts on religion. Lond., Longmans, 1895. 180 p. 8°. 4s. 6d.
- STALEY, V. Apart with God. Lond., Mowbray, 1895. 152 p. 32°. 6d.

b. Other.

- CARL V. OESTERREICH, weil. Erzherzog. Religiöse Betrachtungen. [Aus: "Ausgew. Schriften."] Wien, W. Braumüller, 1895. viii+226 p. 12°. 3; 5M.
- CLERC. Amour à Jésus-Christ. Dijon, l'auteur, 1894. xv+355 p. 8°. 2f.
- EUGENE. Considerations sur les litanies du saint nom de Jésus. Tournai, Casterman, 1894. 360 p. 12°. 2f.
- MANUEL des exercices de saint Ignace. Poitiers, Oudin, 1894. 543 p. 8°.

2. Family, Society and State.

a. American and English.

- COMEGYS, B. B. Thirteen weeks of prayers for the family. N. Y. and Chic., Revell, 1895. 234 p. 12°. 75c.
- HERRON, G. D. The Christian society. [New cheaper ed.] N. Y. and Chic., Revell Co., 1895. 4+158 p. 12°. 75c.; pap., net, 25c.
- HERRON, G. D. The larger Christ. New cheaper ed. N. Y. and Chic., Revell, 1895. 122 p. 12°. Pap., net, 25c.
- LITTLE, W. J. K. The Christian's home. Lond., Longmans, 1895. 282 p. 8°. 3s. 6d.

b. Other.

- DESSAULLES, L. A. Les erreurs de l'Eglise sur le mariage et le divorce. Paris, Pedone, 1894. xii+280 p. 18°.
- GOUZIEN, A. L'Eglise et la question sociale. Paris, Téqui, 1895. ii+75 p. 18°.
- GUILLEMETOT, Pierre. L'Eglise et le prolétariat. Nevers, Cloix, 1895. 36 p. 8°.
- HAUSSONVILLE. Etudes sociales. Socialisme et charité. Paris, Levy, 1895. xii+504 p. 8°. 7.50f.
- MICHU, C. Dieu, l'homme et les sociétés. Paris, Sauvaire, 1895. 49 p. 16°.
- MONOD, Alfred. Les ouvriers sans travail et sans asile. Paris, Fishbacher, 1895. 24 p. 8°.

3. The Church.

a. American and English.

- BAKER, Lady. Parish problems. Lond., Gardner, 1895. 116 p. 12°. 1s.
- BOOK of common prayer in Manx Gaelic. Ed. Moore and Rhys. Lond., Frowde, 1895. 8°. 50s.
- JONES, S. The clergy and the catechism. Lond., Skeffington, 1895. 170 p. 3s. 6d.
- SHUTTLEWORTH, H. C. Hymns for private use. Lond., Gay, 1895. 32°. Net, 1s.

b. Other.

- BENDIX, Ludw. Kirche u. Kirchenrecht. Eine Kritik moderner theolog. u. jurist. Ansichten. Mainz, F. Kirchheim, 1895. viii+190 p. 8°. 2.40M.

- DALBUS, F. Les ordinations anglicanes. 2 éd. Paris, Delhomme, 1895. iv+43 p. 8°.
- KNOBLAUCH, Mart. Das Nothwendigste üb. die kirchliche Paramentenstickerel, sofern sie e. Ausübung v. Kunst u. Kunsthandwerk ist. Kempten, J. Kösel, 1895. xi+120 p. 8°. 3.20; 4M.
- LIEBERMANN, B. Quellen zum Strome. Bonn, J. Schergens, 1894. 21 p. 8°. —50M. (Textwahl, etc.)
- RECUEIL de cantiques anciens et nouveaux. Paroles et chant. Tours, Mame; Paris, Possielgue, 1894. 643 p. 18°.
- WALK, Frz., ed. Katechetische Handbibliothek. Praktisches Hilfsbüchlein f. alle Seelforger. Kempten, J. Kösel. 12°.
17. Jais, Aegid. Das Wichtigste f. Eltern u. Erzieher zur Pflege der Keuschheit bei ihren Kindern, versehen v. Lehr. Jos. Pötsch. 144 p. —80; 1.10M.
4. Repefny, B. B. Firmungs-Unterricht. Als Vorbereitg. zum Empfange des hl. Sakramentes der Firmg. 2. Aufl. 174 p. —90; 1.20M.
- ZUSAMMENSTELLUNG v. Kirchengesetzen f. das Herzogth. Anhalt. Neue Ausg. Dessau, Dünnhaupt, 1895. iv+112 p. 8°. 1M.
4. Sermons.
- a. American and English.
- BANKS, L. Albert. Heavenly trade-winds. Cin., O., Cranston & Curtis, 1895. 4+351 p. 12°. \$1.25.
- BEECHER, St. V. The excuses of non-communicants: three sermons. Lond., Skeffington, 1895. 8°. 1s.
- GOSPEL of the Kingdom: five sermons. Lond., Stock, 1895. 92 p. 12°. 2s.
- HILEY, R. W. A year's sermons. N. Y., Longmans, 1895. 2 v. 12°. Each, \$2.
- HORTON, R. F. The Apostles' Creed and other addresses. Lond., Clarke, 1895. 260 p. 8°. 3s. 6d.
- HEWATT, J. R. Faith's strong foundation. Lond., Nisbet, 1895. 104 p. 12°. 1s. (Addresses.)
- KENDRICK, A. C. The moral conflict of humanity and other papers. Lond., Bapt. Book Soc., 1895. 260 p. 8°. 4s.
- MacCOLL, Malcolm (Canon). Life here and hereafter: sermons preached in Ripon Cathedral and elsewhere. N. Y., Longmans, 1894 [1895]. 14+405 p. 12°. \$2.25.
- McCONNELL, S. D. Sermon stuff. 2d series. N. Y., Whittaker, 1895. 7+228 p. 12°. Net, \$1.
- MERCER, Alex. Gardiner. He being dead, yet speaketh, and other sermons. N. Y., Randolph, 1894 [1895]. 6+327 p. 12°. \$1.50.
- MILLS, B. F. God's world and other sermons. Lond., Allenson, 1895. 316 p. 8°.
- MOZLEY, J. B. Sermons. Lond., Longmans, 1895. 316 p. 8°. 3s. 6d.
- PAGET, Francis. Studies in the Christian character: sermons. N. Y., Longmans, 1895. 36+258 p. 12°. \$1.75.
- ROSE, H. R. Good sense in religion: eleven lectures. Bost., Universalist Pub. House, 1894 [1895]. 8+240 p. 12°. Net, \$1.10.
- b. Other.
- DECKERT, Jos. Arbeit, Lohn u. Wucher. 3 Conferenzzreden. Wien, Kirsch, 1895. 40 p. 12°. —30M.
- DECKERT, Jos. Die ältesten u. gefährlichsten Feinde des Christenthums u. christlichen Volkes. Conferenzzreden. Wien, Kirsch, 1895. viii+103 p. 8°. —80M.
- GAY. Sermons d'Avent. Paris, Oudin, 1895. 457 p. 8°.
- GUNDERSEN, A. Jesus og bønnene Predikener. Christ., Marius Lund, 1894. 64 p. 8°. —30kr.
- HECHER, Jos. Das Lamm Gottes. Fastenpredigten. St., Roth, 1895. 96 p. 8°. —90M.
- JANSEN, J. Personlig Kristendom Praedikener. 2 Opl. Christ., Aschehoug, 1894. x+84 p. 8°. 1.20; 1.70kr.
- PLAT. Une troisième année de predication. Paris, Lethielleux, 1895. viii+516 p. 8°.
- PORCHER, J. Les sermons de Bourdaloue. Paris, Delagrave, 1894. 108 p. 18°.
- PORCHER, Jacques. Sermons de Massillon. Paris, Delagrave, 1894. 96 p. 18°.
- SCHWEIGHOFER, Matthäus. Der verlorene Sohn. 6 Fastenpredigten. Mainz, F. Kirchheim, 1895. iii+69 p. 8°. —75M.
5. Missions and Evangelism.
- a. American and English.
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- LAWRENCE, E. A. Modern missions in the East, their methods, successes, and limitations; with an introd. by E. T. Eaton, D. D. N. Y., Harper, 1895. c. '94. 16+329 p. 12°. Cl., \$1.75.
- MISSION heroes. Lond., Chris. Knowl. Soc., 1895. 8°. 1s.
- PATON, Mrs. J. G. Letters and sketches from the New Hebrides; ed. by Rev. Jas. Paton, N. Y., Armstrong, 1895. 382 p. 11. 8°. Cl., \$1.75.
- TELFORD, J. Makers of our missions: pages from the lives of Methodist missionaries. Lond., Kelly, 1895. 192 p. 2s.
- TELFORD, J. Women in the mission field. Lond., 1895. 190 p. 8°. 2s.
- SHORT history of Christian missions from Abraham and Paul to Carey, Livingstone, and Duff. 4th ed. N. Y., imported by C. Scribner's Sons, 1895. 238 p. 12°. \$1. (Handbook for Bible classes.)

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b. *Other.*

NILSSEN, Joerg Edv. Om Laegemissionen og dens Berettigelse med en Oversigt over den norske Laegemissionsvirksomhed. Christiania, Kom. hos Lutherstiftelsens Boghandel, 1894. —25kr.

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SCHWARTZ, v., ed. Aktenstücke betr. das Ausscheiden der Missionare Kempf,

Näther u. Mohn aus der Leipziger Mission. Lpz., Naumann, 1895. 136 p. 8°. 1M.

SEEBOECK, Phillib. Rette deine Seele! Missionsbüchlein. Salzburg, A. Pustet, 1895. xv+688 p. 16°. 1M.

SEYDEL, A. Wie gewinnt die evangelische Kirche ihre verlorenen Glieder wieder? Berl., A. Haack, 1895. 48 p. 8°. 1.20M.

V.—ENCYCLOPAEDIC.

a. *American and English.*

CLERGY list for 1895. Lond., Kelly, 1895. 8°. 10s. 6d.

ELY diocesan calendar for 1895. Lond., Simpkin, 1895. 8°. 1s.

b. *Other.*

PIE, Cardinal. Oeuvres. T. 10. Par., Oudin.

SUBJECT INDEX TO THEOLOGICAL PERIODICALS.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS RECORD.

Af. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)	Miss. H.	Missionary Herald.
Bapt. Q.	Baptist Quarterly Review.	Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
Bib. Sac.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)	New Chr. Q.	New Christian Quarterly.
Bib. W.	The Biblical World.	New W.	The New World. (Quarterly.)
Can. M. R.	Canadian Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)	Our D.	Our Day.
Char. R.	Charities Review.	Prot. Ep. R.	Protestant Episcopal Review.
Chr. L.	Christian Literature.	Pre. M.	Preacher's Magazine.
Ex.	Expositor.	Presb. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
Ex. T.	Expository Times.	Presb.Ref.R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
Hom. R.	Homiletic Review.	Ref. Q.	Reformed Quarterly Review.
Luth. C. R.	Lutheran Church Review.	Sunday M.	Sunday Magazine.
Luth. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.	Think.	The Thinker.
Meth. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)	Treas.	The Treasury.
Meth. R. So.	Methodist Review, South. (Quarterly.)	Yale R.	The Yale Review. (Quarterly.)
Min.	The Minister.		

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Assyria's first contact with Israel. (R. W. Rogers) Meth.R.77 (Mr'95) 207-22.

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The Expository Times.

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Methodist Review.

New York, March-April, 1895.

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Rough notes on Eastern churches.

Being of God.

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The Missionary Herald.

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August Dillmann.

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The Expositor.

London, March, 1895.

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Person of Christ: a problem in the philosophy of religion.

The Missionary Review.

New York, March, 1895.

Departure of Rev. A. J. Gordon.
 World-wide mission and ministry of Charles H. Spurgeon.
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 Missions in the West Indies.
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New Christian Quarterly.

St. Louis, January, 1895.

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New World.

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 Song of the well.

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Cyrus Hamlin—a character sketch.
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London, March, 1895.

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 Gospel and the age.
 Gospel of new boots.
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The Thinker.

New York, March, 1895.

Comparative religion and Christian missions.
 Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews.
 Logic of contemporary theology.
 Drummond's "Ascent of Man."
 Immortality and resurrection.

NOTES.

THERE are now published in the United Kingdom 2081 magazines, of which more than 487 are of a decidedly religious character. Comparing 1895 with 1846 (the first year the Directory was published), it is estimated that in that year there were only 200 of such publications in existence. Almost every branch of science and thought is represented.

MR. JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, the son and executor of the late Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, asks that any persons having letters of Dr. Holmes will send them to Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 4 Park Street, Boston, U. S. A., or to Mr. A. P. Watt, Hastings House, Norfolk Street, Strand, with reference to their possible use in a contemplated *Life and Letters of Dr. Holmes*. These letters will be carefully returned to their owners after copies have been made of such as are found to be available.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN will shortly publish *Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul from Unpublished Commentaries*, by the late Bishop Lightfoot, the volume consisting entirely of unpublished matter, and aiming at reproducing, wherever possible, the courses of lectures delivered at Cambridge by Dr. Lightfoot upon those Pauline Epistles which he did not live to edit in the form of complete commentaries. Friends who were present at the lectures have placed their notebooks at the disposal of the trustees.

It is with very great regret that the Edinburgh students have learned that Prof. Drummond will be unable to hold his usual series of meetings this session. Every student looks as eagerly forward to "taking out Drummond" as to "taking out Masson." His medical adviser, however, has forbidden him to undertake his work this winter.

DR. R. S. MACARTHUR, of the Calvary Baptist Church, New York, is about to celebrate his semi-jubilee. The anniversary will be held in May, after which Dr. MacArthur intends to take a trip round the world. He has spent the whole quarter of a century with one congregation, a rare event in the annals of New York pastorates.

THE *Reformirte Kirchenzeitung* mentions that Count Hoensbroech, whose exposure of Jesuitism has attracted so much attention, has become a member of the Trinity Church in Berlin. Pastor Dryander, one of the most eminent Protestant ministers of Berlin, prepared him for admission.

MAGAZINES.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for March contains: "The Seats of the Mighty," Gilbert Parker; "The Secret of the Roman Oracles," Rodolfo Lanciani; "Simulacra," Madison Cawein; "Some Confessions of a Novel-Writer," J. T. Trowbridge; "Gridon's Pity," Grace Howard Peirce; "Bova Unvisited," Elizabeth Pullen; "Evening in Salisbury Close," Clinton Scollard; "Immigration and Naturalization," H. Sidney Everett; "A Singular Life," Elizabeth Stuart Phelps; "At the Granite Gate," Bliss Carman; "A Pupil of Hypatia," Harriet Waters Preston and Louise Dodge; "Some Words of the Ethics of Co-operative Production," J. M. Ludlow;

"The Direction of Education," N. S. Shaler;
"William Dwight Whitney," Charles Rockwell
Lanman.

THE contents of the CENTURY for April are:
"Life of Napoleon Bonaparte," William M.
Sloane; "Resurrection," Maurice Francis Egan;
"Madame Réjane," Justin Huntly McCarthy;
"Casa Braccio," F. Marion Crawford; "A
Search for an Ancestor," Mrs. Roger A.
Pryor; "Lincoln's Reflection," Noah Brooks;
"Robert Louis Stevenson;" "Paul Jones,"
Molly Elliot Seawell; "An Errant Woo-
ing," Mrs. Burton Harrison; "Beyond the
Adriatic," Harriet Waters Preston; "Tesla's
Oscillator and other Inventions: An Au-
thoritative Account of Some of his Recent
Electrical Work," Thomas Commerford Martin;
"In Tesla's Laboratory," Robert Underwood
Johnson; "Old Dutch Masters: Ferdinand Bol,"
Timothy Cole; "Bernhard Stavenhagen,"
Henry T. Finck; "A Faithful Failure," George
I. Putnam; "Religious Teaching in the Public
Schools," Lyman Abbott; "Love Conquers
Death," Florence Earle Coates; "An Innocent
Offender," Alice Turner.

THE MARCH COSMOPOLITAN contains: "Mont-
Saint-Michel," J. Howe Adams; "A Promise,"
Maude Lyons; "The Beautiful Models of
Paris," Fr. Thiebault Sisson; "A President of
France," Ernest Daudet; "We of the Stylus,"
Thomas G. Taaffe; "Pearl-Diving and its
Perils," Herbert P. Witmarsh; "A Three-
Stranded Yarn," W. Clark Russell; "Beauty
from an Indian's Point of View," R. W. Shu-
feldt; "The Observatory of the Vatican," J. A.
Zahm; "The Story of a Thousand," Albion W.
Tougee; "A Portrait in Bruges," Georges
Rodenbach.

APRIL HARPER's contains: "Our National
Capital," Julian Ralph; "Ghostly Premoni-
tions," Lucy C. Lillie; "Personal Recollections
of Joan of Arc, Part I.," Louis De Conte; "Paris
in Mourning," Richard Harding Davis; "Club
Life Among Outcasts," Josiah Flynt; "Hearts
Insurgent," Thomas Hardy; "Venice in Easter.
Impressions and Sensations," Arthur Symons;
"Study Number Three," Harriet Lewis Brad-
ley; "Autumn in Japan," Alfred Parsons;
"People We Pass," Cordelia's Night of Ro-
mance," Julian Ralph; "Recent Progress in the
Public Schools," W. T. Harris; "The Balance
of Power," Maurice Thompson.

THE contents of LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE for
April are: "Alain of Haldene," Anna Robeson
Brown; "Cheap Living in Paris," Alvan F.
Sanborn; "At the Hop-Pole Inn," Mrs. Poult-
ney Bigelow; "Grand Opera," Nellie Melba;
"Bucolic Journalism of the West," Mary E.
Stickney; "The House With the Paint Wore
Off," Marjorie Richardson; "Evolution of Table
Manners," Lee J. Vance; "Hiram Powers in
Washington"; "The Butterfly," Mary Dawson;
"Woman's Lot in Persia," Wolf von Schier-
brand; "The Defendant Speaks," Genie H.
Rosenfeld; "The Womanliness of Literary
Women," J. W. Abernethy.

MCCLEURE'S MAGAZINE for April contains:
"The Author of Trilby," Robert H. Sherard;
"Recollections of Captain Wilkie," A. Conan
Doyle; "Napoleon Bonaparte, Sixth Paper,"
Ida M. Tarbell; "The Pollock Diamond Rob-
bery," Cleveland Moffet; "Human Docu-
ments"; "Tammmany," E. J. Edwards; "Where
Ignorance is Bliss," Robert Barr; "The Bank
of England," Henry J. W. Dam; "Afterwards,"
Ian Maclaren; "The Pierre Loti of Private
Life," Madame Adam.

APRIL SCRIBNER'S contains: "The Wor-
shippers," engraved by W. B. Closson;
"Luke XVIII," 11; "Four Easter Pic-
tures"—A New York Easter, drawn by
W. T. Smedley; Palm Sunday at the Made-
leine, Paris, drawn by Albert Lynch; The
Queen and Her Ladies Creeping to the Cross
on Good Friday, drawn by E. A. Abbey;
Easter at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem,
drawn by Edwin Lord Weeks; "Prince Charles
Stuart," Andrew Lang; "An Easter Hymn," by
Thomas Blackburn; "A Circle in the Water,"
W. D. Howells; "A History of the Last Quar-
ter-Century in the United States"—II; E.
Benjamin Andrews; "American Wood-En-
gravers," William B. Closson; "The Amazing
Marriage," George Meredith; "In Northern
Waters," T. C. Evans; "The Art of Living"—
Education, Robert Grant; "To a Greek Vic-
tory," Pitts Duffield; "La Belle Helene," stories
of girls' college life, Abbe Carter Goodloe;
"Who Won the Battle of New Orleans?" an
unpublished correspondence of President An-
drew Jackson; "The Compass," Edith M.
Thomas; "A Question in Art," Robert W. Her-
rick.

CHRONICLE, OBITUARY, AND CALENDAR.

COMPILED BY THE REV. GEO. W. GILMORE, A.M.

CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 15th.)

Feb. 7-10.—Eighth Annual Convention of the
**American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alli-
ance**, Central District, at Hamilton Theologi-
cal Seminary.

Feb. 17-25.—Second Triennial Session of the
National Council of Women, at Washington,
D. C. The following religious bodies were
represented: National Free Baptist Women's
Missionary Society, the Woman's Centenary
Association of the Universalist Church, the

Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of
Friends, the National Council of Jewish
Women and the Woman's Christian Temper-
ance Union.

Feb. 19.—Conference of Adventists, at Battle
Creek, Mich.

Feb. 20-22.—Fourth Annual Session of the
Tuskegee Negro Conference, at Tuskegee,
Ala.

Feb. 22-24.—Third Annual Convention of the
Young Women's Christian Associations, at
Waltham, Mass.

Mar. 7-9.—Eighth Annual Session of the National Deaconess Conference, in New York City.

Lord Rosebery has appointed the Rev. Dr. Percival, Head Master of Rugby, to the bishopric of Hereford.

The Rev. Dr. C. B. Foster, of MacMaster College, Toronto, has accepted a call to the chair of theology in the University of Chicago Divinity School, recently made vacant by the death of Professor B. F. Simpson.

The Rev. J. H. Wilson, D.D., of Barclay Church, Edinburgh, will be nominated Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

OBITUARY.

Boise, Rev. James Robinson (Baptist), Ph.D. (Tübingen, 1868), LL.D. (Michigan University, 1868), D.D. (Brown University, 1879), in Chicago, Feb. 9, aged 80. He was graduated from Brown University, 1840; was tutor there for three years, and then became professor of ancient languages, resigning in 1850; studied in Germany, Greece, Italy and France; was elected professor of Greek language and literature in the University of Michigan, 1852; was elected to a like chair in the University of Chicago, 1868; became professor of New Testament interpretation in the Baptist Union Theological Seminary, Morgan Park, Chicago, 1877; was made professor emeritus when the last-named institution was incorporated with the new University of Chicago under President Harper. He had been active in the production of textbooks which long served in schools and colleges, such books as his "Greek Lessons," "Greek Prose Composition," "Xenophon's Anabasis," "Homer's Iliad," etc., being on the shelves of most schools for many years. He also wrote "Notes" on Paul's epistles to the Galatians, the Romans, the Ephesians, the Colossians, the Philippians, and to Philemon.

Coe, Rev. David Benton (Congregationalist), D.D. (Middlebury College, 1857), in Bloomfield, N. J., Feb. 13, aged 81. He was graduated from Yale College, 1837, and from Yale Theological Seminary, 1840; he was tutor in Yale College, 1839-1840; became pastor of First Church, Milford, Conn., 1840; of the Allen St. Presbyterian Church, New York, 1844; district secretary of the A. B. C. F. M., 1849, and corresponding secretary of the American (now Congregational) Home Missionary Society, 1851; of the latter society he had been honorary secretary since 1882.

Coit, Rev. Henry Augustus (Protestant Episcopal), D.D. (Trinity College, 1863), at Concord, N. H., Feb. 5, aged 64. He was educated at St. Paul's College, College Point, N. Y., and studied (but did not graduate) at the University of Pennsylvania; entered the ministry of his denomination, but showed his preference for educational work in becoming associated with Dr. Kerfoot in St. James' College, Hagerstown, Md.; became rector of St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., on its foundation in 1857. Under his exceptionally wise management the school has grown to be one of the largest in the country. Dr. Coit

served as trustee of Trinity College, and had often been delegate to the General Convention of his Church.

Dale, Rev. Robert William (English Congregationalist), D.D. (Yale College, 1877), LL.D. (Glasgow, 1883), in Birmingham, Mar. 13, aged 66. He studied at Spring Hill College, Birmingham, 1847-1853, and was graduated from the University of London, 1853; became co-pastor with John Angell James of Carr's Lane Church, Birmingham, 1853, and had been sole pastor of the same since 1859; he was chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1869; Lyman Beecher Lecturer at Yale Theological Seminary, 1877; governor of King Edward VI.'s school at Birmingham; and delivered the Congregational Union Lectures (on the Atonement) 1875. His published works are very numerous, as he had issued besides the lectures named above, "Life and Letters of the Rev. J. A. James," "The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church," "The Epistle to the Ephesians, its Doctrine and Ethics," besides many other volumes of note, including sermons. He was also joint-editor of the *Eclectic Review*, and for seven years sole editor of the *English Congregationalist*.

Fuller, Rev. Samuel (Protestant Episcopal), D.D., at Middletown, Conn., Mar. 8, aged 93. He was graduated from Union College, 1822, and from the General Theological Seminary, New York City, 1827; was principal of Hudson Academy, 1823-1824; served as editor of *The Churchman*, 1831; acting-president of Kenyon College, 1844; and rector at Andover, Mass., 1849; was appointed "Lecturer on Christian Life" at Philadelphia, 1853; and was made professor of Latin and Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Berkeley Divinity School, 1859, becoming professor emeritus, 1883. He is known as the author of several important volumes.

Rawlinson, Sir Henry, G.C.B., D.C.L. (Oxford), LL.D. (Cambridge and Edinburgh), in London, Engl., Mar. 5, aged 75. While the obituary columns of this magazine are usually reserved for mention of those whose services have been given primarily to the church, Sir Henry Rawlinson is deemed worthy of mention here because of his services to the science of biblical history and archaeology through the impetus he gave to Assyriological research. Sir Henry began his service in India, 1830-1833; was engaged by the Shah for the Persian army, doing much to reorganize it, 1833-1839; while engaged in this work, he began his study of the cuneiform inscriptions, and copied a part of the great Behistun memorial; he returned to India in 1839, and became British agent at Kandahar, 1840; subsequently he declined a most important office in England for a much humbler one at Bagdad, his purpose being to pursue his studies in the cuneiform; from that time till 1855 he enriched the British Museum with slabs, inscriptions, and monuments from Babylon and Nineveh. From 1855 his life was given to various political duties, in which he rendered valuable service to his country. But the world of scholars has most reason to remember him for his work in the department of Assyriology.

Thomas, Rt. Rev. Elisha Smith (Protestant Episcopal), D.D. (Yale College, 1887), at Salina, Kan., Mar. 9, aged 61. He was graduated from Yale, 1858, and from Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., 1861; was made deacon the same year, and priest, 1862; became rector of St. Paul's Church, New Haven, 1861; was elected rector of Seabury Hall, Faribault, Minn., and professor of Old and New Testament Exegesis, 1864; went to Europe and studied Semitic languages and New Testament Exegesis, 1869; was elected rector of St. Mark's Church, Minneapolis, 1870, and of St. Paul's Church, St. Paul, Minn., 1876; served as deputy to three successive general conventions; was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Kansas, 1887; became Bishop of Kansas by the death of Bishop Vail, 1889.

Thompson, Rev. Alexander Ramsay (Dutch Reformed), D.D. (University of City of New York, 1865), at Summit, N. J., Feb. 7, aged 73. He was graduated from the University of the City of New York, 1842, and from Princeton Theological Seminary, 1845; became assistant to Dr. Brodhead at the Central Reformed Church, Brooklyn, 1845, and a little later to Dr. Macauley, of the Astor Place Presbyterian Church, New York City; pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Morristown, N. J., 1846; missionary at Bedford, L. I., 1847; pastor of Reformed Dutch Church, Tompkinsville, S. I., 1848; and at Stapleton, 1851; was stated supply at Bridgeport, Conn., 1859; became pastor of Reformed Dutch Church, 21st Street, New York, 1862; Chaplain of Roosevelt Hospital, 1873-1890, and pastor of the North Reformed Dutch Church, Brooklyn, 1873-1884. He was noted as a hymnist, translating many of the early Greek and Latin hymns.

Williams, Rev. Nathaniel Marshman (Baptist), D.D., in Newton, Mass., Feb. 9, aged 81. He was graduated from Columbian University, D. C., 1837, and from Newton Theological Seminary, 1839; he was ordained, 1840; became colleague of Rev. Sylvanus Boardman in New Sharon, Me., 1840; subsequent pastorates were at Farmington, Me., Somerville, Mass., Ellsworth, Me., Peabody, Me., Peabody, Methuen, Mass., Wickford, R. I., Lowell, Mass., Warner, N. H., and Marshfield, Mass., from which last-named place he resigned, 1893, retiring after an active service of fifty-five years. He contributed several parts to the commentary edited by Dr. Hovey (I. II. Peter, and Jude), published a commentary on Matthew, and a collection of essays, "Counter Currents."

Briscoe, Rev. Thomas (Anglican), D.D., at Holyhead, Wales. Dr. Briscoe was Chancellor of Bangor Cathedral, and was also an accomplished linguist, having translated the whole New Testament into Welsh.

Brownlee, Rev. James (Reformed Dutch), D.D., at Cranford, N. J., Feb. 21. He had passed almost sixty years in the gospel ministry.

Coyle, Rev. John P. (Presbyterian), D.D. (Williams College), in Denver, Colo., Feb. 22, aged 41.

Herrick, Rev. Henry (Congregationalist), at North Woodstock, Conn., Mar. 12, aged 92. Mr. Herrick was a graduate of Yale College, '23, and was the oldest living graduate of that institution.

Hill, Rev. Reuben (Lutheran), D.D., at Allentown, Pa., Mar. .

Hunt, Rev. Timothy Dwight (Presbyterian), at Whitesboro, N. Y., Feb. 7, aged 74.

Knapp, Rev. George C. (Congregationalist), at Bitlis, Turkey, Mar. 13. Mr. Knapp had been a missionary for forty years.

McArthur, Rev. H. G. (Presbyterian), D.D. (Whitman College), in Fort Atkinson, Wis., Feb. 20, aged 62.

McFarland, Rev. H. H. (Congregationalist), D.D., at Jamaica, L. I., aged 63.

Neal, Rev. Jonathan (Methodist Episcopal), D.D., at Neponset, Feb. 22, aged 65.

Osler, Rev. Featherston Lake (Anglican), canon of Niagara, at Toronto, Canada, Feb. 16, aged 90.

Proudfit, Rev. Alexander (Presbyterian), D.D., at Saratoga Springs, Mar. 3, aged 85.

Stoddard, Rev. Judson B. (Presbyterian), in Cheshire, Conn., Feb. 7, aged 83.

CALENDAR.

[The compiler will welcome notices of meetings of general importance and interest, provided such notices reach him before the 15th of the month prior to that in which the meetings are to take place. Exact dates and names of places, when and where the meetings are to be held, are desired.]

April 21.—Observance of **Founder's Day** by the **Young People's Baptist Union**, all over the United States.

May 8-12.—Thirty-first International Convention of the **Young Men's Christian Associations**, at Springfield, Mass.

May 9.—Annual Meeting of the **American Bible Society**, in New York City.

May 16.—General Assembly, **Cumberland Presbyterian Church** (colored), at Nashville, Tennessee.

General Synod of the **Reformed Presbyterian Church of America**, at Coulterville, Illinois.

General Assembly of the **Presbyterian Church of the United States of America**, at Pittsburg, Pa.

General Assembly of the **Presbyterian Church in the United States**, at Dallas, Texas.

General Assembly of the **Cumberland Presbyterian Church**, at Meridian, Miss.

May 21.—Annual Meeting of the **Presbyterian Board of Home Missions**, at Pittsburg, Pa.

May 23.—General Assembly, **United Presbyterian Church, North America**, at Pittsburg, Pa.

May 24-30.—Twenty-second Annual Conference of **Charities and Correction**, at New Haven, Conn.

May 28.—Beginning of the series of **Baptist Anniversaries**, at Saratoga, N. Y.

Annual Meeting of the **American Congregational Association**, in Boston, Mass.

